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Embodying Afrikaner male toxic masculinities in Tsotsitaal speaking characters in South African television : the case of Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999) and INumber Number (2014).

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Department of African Languages

School of Literature, Language and Media

Embodying Afrikaner male toxic masculinities in Tsotsitaal speaking characters in South African television : The case of *Isidingo* (1998), *Yizo Yizo* (1999) and *INumber Number* (2014).

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Supervised by Prof. Innocentia J. Mhlambi

2022

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own work. It has not been submitted for any other degree for examination at another institution.

_____

Manuel Seipati Makafane

03 April 2022

Abstract

The research mainly looks at the deployment of Tsotsitaal in post-1994 South African television dramas and soap opera's (known in South Africa as soapies) *Yizo Yizo (1999)*, *Isidingo (1998),* and *iNumber Number (2013*). The study will focus on the Afrikaans syntax of tsotsitaal which is known as flaaitaal, though Iscamtho will also be considered. The research focuses on the representation of flaaitaal, speaking characters and their association with certain forms of masculinities. Also, to be investigated is the extent to which flaaitaal speaking characters convoke ordinary native Afrikaans speakers or identities. In an attempt to emphasise such a claim, the research will look at random episodes of *Yizo Yizo (1999), Isidingo (1998)* and *iNumber Number (2014)* and analyse their depiction of black masculinities which provoke toxic ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identities of the apartheid era. The aim of the research is to outline certain meanings and ideologies behind the deployment of Tsotsitaal (Flaaitaal) in Post-Apartheid South African soapies, dramas and films. In addition, the research aims to investigate how Afrikaans and its speakers are projected as those who are social miss-fits, the ills of society, cruel, self-centred, and mafia types by South African filmmakers through a reverse gaze and the disruption of racial hierarchies. Papa G, an *Isidingo (1998)* character, is a heartless, cruel, wealthy and well-connected flaaitaal speaking character. This study will correlate such characterization with that of the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identities and how such characterisation and language could be a mere resemblance of Afrikaner-ness. The characterisation of Iscamtho-speaking characters such as Chester and Papa Action in *Yizo Yizo (1999)* as inferior, poor and of lower economic status compared to flaaitaal-speaking character Bra Gibb, heavily informs the audience and broader public with regards to language hierarchies within a South African context. In relation to the case of Mambane in *Inumber Number (2014)*, the study looks into the Afrikaner-ness, and alibi portrayed and displayed by a character based on his mannerism, attitude, language usage and the role he holds with the heist gang. In addition, we have a female character, who's part of the male dominant heist gang, who's characterization leads the study back to the history of women in gangs. Furthermore, the study will explore aspects surrounding tsotsitaal, its growth, and its popularity amongst tsotsis in history, and youths in urban spaces and black townships in modern days. In application of Representation theory, the study will explore black constructions and meaning, and the way language connects meaning

to culture. Drawing from theorists such as Brown (2008), Gray (1995), Buasch (2013) and Craig (1992), the study further looks into how black images on television and media in general, are always negatively represented. Such black images are depicted as criminals, poor, visionless, violent, cruel, hopeless and public enemies.

Key words: Flaaitaal; Tsotsitaal; Iscamtho; Yizo Yizo; Black Masculinities; Afrikaner-ness; Isidingo; Inumber Number; Film; Representation.

Dedication

I dedicate this paper to me for all the hard work I put in it and to my mom who passed on last year (2021). Most of all I dedicate this paper to Prof. I.J Mhlambi for assistance, participation and patience she had on this project.

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Prof I.J Mhlambi is the person I'd like to acknowledge in relation to this project. She's been there through the hard times of me trying to compile and make sense of this dissertation. She indeed deserves that recognition and acknowledgement.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The study looks into the deployment of tsotsitaal-speaking characters in post-1994 South African television. The focus of study will be on *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999)*, and film *iNumber Number(2013)*. The study will, furthermore, look into how flaaitaal-speaking characters, when compared to iscamtho speaking characters, are depicted as economically well-off, mafias, well-connected, cruel, heartless and as public enemies. Flaaitaal is an Afrikaans dominant syntax of tsotsitaal, whereas Iscamtho is an African Language (mostly Zulu and Sotho) dominant syntax. The study examines how flaaitaal, as assigned to the construction of mostly black male figures in these productions, implicitly recasts (remake) South African racial politics, especially as this plays out between Afrikaner males and Black males. My study is, thus, interested in the fact that when tsotsitaal is used to denote certain black male characters, the play of the language defines some of the toxic lingering effects of racial politics within the black male identity construction.

In the filmic narratives of *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999), a*nd *iNumber Number (2013)*, evil characters tend to use or are affiliated with Flaaitaal, an Afrikaans base tsotsitaal. Conversely, black male identities that are marked out as resisting the status quo or hegemony are positioned in countercultures and use Iscamtho, an African-Language based tsotsitaal. Post-apartheid black films consist of numerous polarities in black male identification and self-stylization processes. This study will investigate the way these films construct black masculinities along these polarities. Therefore, there is a hierarchy, even within tsotsitaal speakers, where flaaitaal would normally be associated with economically powerful, oppressive, old, grey-haired men who are Kingpins, mafias, cruel and monopolise drug trafficking. On the other hand, Iscamtho speakers would normally be depicted as visionless, uneducated, wild men who are lower in status in terms of class and aspiration for social and economic mobility.

Background

In modern day South Africa, tsotsitaal (which was originally a gangster language) has made way for what is termed metro-languages. Metro-languages are simply languages mostly spoken in urban spaces by people from different linguistic groups as a form of a lingua-Franca or a language belonging to a certain group of people based in a particular location as means of communication. The reason is

that people from different linguistic groups tend to experience difficulties and challenges whenthey have to communicate in other languages. This leads to a pidginized form of metro-languages understood by most, if not all, residents within a particular urban space. Languages are pidginised in a sense that its vocabulary is derived from other languages and simplified in a way that all can easily communicate and understand one another. However, such metro-languages are mostly common amongst the youth.

Urban languages are largely associated with particular social groups who use these language varieties to exclude other members of the community. For instance, tsotsitaal was mainly used by a group of individuals known as tsotsis (criminals) as means of communication amongst themselves, thus, excluding those who were not of their social group. Outsiders could not easily relate with the language, which carried volumes of valuable messages (content), style, lifestyle, loyalty, sense of belonging, and so on.

Initially, urban languages were associated with the city and nonconformity. Their users were viewed as predominantly engaged in criminal activities, and such languages originate in high-density populated areas (Mokoni, Brutt-Griffler & Mashiri 2007: 281). Mokoni, Brutt-Griffler and Mashiri (2007: 282) further indicates that urban languages are classified and referred to as ''urban vernaculars''. They are informal, unstandardized languages, and lack proper written form. This results from them being derived from other languages and establish by a particular social group of which its members are already native speakers of other languages. Such languages are mostly associated with and spoken by urban youth. Most important, and worth noting in relation to the terminology 'Urban Languages', is that all the varieties are associated with urban ways of speaking, which distinguishes urban dwellers from their rural counterparts (Mokoni, Brutt-Griffler & Mashiri 2007: 282). As a result, speaking an urban language is also a form of articulating urban identity. Examples of metro-languages include Sepetori and Iscamtho, among many others.

Sepetori is a non-standard or rather unstandardised black urban variety spoken in the Tshwane metropolitan and neighbouring regions, functioning as a Lingua-Franca of the Tshwane urban area (Ntuli, 2016: 15). Sepetori is derived from Sepedi, Setswana, and Sesotho languages. Such an urban language consists of various local varieties spoken in and around Tshwane, such as Mamelodi Lingo which is spoken in Mamelodi, and various other dialects spoken in Attridgeville, Soshanguve, and other surrounding townships (Ntuli, 2016: 20). Ntuli (2016: 16-17), indicates that many studies have described and classified Sepetori as a 'Koine' language. Koine languages are characterised by their

development from mutually intelligible languages, distinct from creoles and pidgins. They are forms of speech shared by people of different vernaculars though for some of them, the koine itself may be their vernacular.

Quite interesting is the case of Soshanguve where Álvarez-Mosquera and Coetzee (2017: 499) point out that conversations between locals (people in Soshanguve and surrounding areas) are rarely in English, Even when Code switching, the community would rather converse in Sepetori, even in their homes. Soshanguve is a largely Black populated area, with 99.7% of its residents belonging to the Black African group. This is made up of Sepedi (28.20%), Setswana (16.70%), Xitsonga (15.05%) and isiZulu (13.58%), and Other (1.84%), which may refer to or consist of non-South African languages and indigenous languages (Álvarez-Mosquera & Coetzee, 2017: 499). Soshanguve is a term derived from the linguistic groups of its residents or settlers: So = Sotho; Sha = Shangaan; Ngu = Nguni (isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele, siSwati); and Ve = Venda. In their work, Álvarez-Mosquera and Coetzee (2017: 499- 504) indicate that Sepetori in Pretoria is a language of wider communication as it is largely used in trade spaces, markets, households, and various other spaces within black townships. Sepetori is, thus, the lingua franca of greater Pretoria since it is a language which almost all of the Pretoria residents (mainly townships) can speak and understand, while also having originated there.

Iscamtho , on the other hand, is spoken in most parts of Soweto, Ekhuruleni, the West Rand, Vaal and other surrounding cities and townships. Ntshangase (2002) indicates that the word iscamtho is derived from the Zulu word *ukuqamunda,* which means to talk volubly. He further indicates that Iscamtho is derived from the Zulu and Sotho languages. Therefore, it is used through (and dependent on) another language (basilect), and relies heavily on language structures of the languages from which it operates, due to its own lack of proper structure (development). Ntshangase (2002: 407-408), describes the usage of Iscamtho in a Soweto context amongst Zulu and Sotho speaking individuals, since they are the main languages through which Iscamtho is used. Below Ntshangase provides examples of how both Zulu and Sotho speaking individuals will use Iscamtho, and how words from other languages (especially Afrikaans) have been Scamtho-rised or borrowed.

English: *I am going*

Standard Sotho: *Ke ya (kea) tsamaya*.

Iscamtho: Ke ya (kea) Vaya.

Standard Zulu: *Ngi-ya - hamba*.

Iscamtho: *Ngi-ya – Vaya.*

Vaya in Iscamtho is believed to be traced from the Afrikaans term '*waaii'* , which means blow - as in that of the wind blowing (Ntshangase, 2002: 408) - and then turned upside down, borrowed and eventually Scamtho-rized. Based on the above examples, it is evident that Iscamtho draws its lexical base from Sotho and Zulu, and to a certain extent is aided by a few Afrikaans terms. Iscamtho emerges from a slang called Shalambombo, and draws its speech community from squatter communities of Pimville, Orlando, the Eastern Native Township, and the Moroka Emergency Camp (Ntshangase, 2002: 408). In contrast to Iscamtho is Flaaitaal, which emerged and draws it speech community from the freehold townships of the Western Areas of Johannesburg such as Sophiatown, Martindale, Alexandra, and so on. Thus, metro-languages in modern day South Africa have occupied the space of and operate as tsotsitaal. Such metro-languages result from multilingualism. That is, the merging and influx of people from different cultures and backgrounds into South African urban spaces. Such metro-languages play the role of being a mediator between people of different cultures, languages and backgrounds to facilitate communication and understanding among one another.

The origin of Tsotsitaal

The origins of tsotsitaal date back to the 1940s in black townships such as Sophiatown (Hurst, 2008). Hurst (2008:11) states that tsotsitaal was mainly spoken in black townships. Molamu (1995:144) indicates that the term tsotsitaal is derived from two words, 'tsotsi' and 'taal'. Tsotsi means criminal and describes a style of black males who wore narrow bottomed trousers which became particularly popular amongst the black urban youth during the 1940s. Taal is an Afrikaans term meaning language, thus, defining tsotsitaal as the language of criminals (Molamu, 1995:144). Tsotsitaal is drawn from Afrikaans, Nguni languages (IsiZulu and Xhosa) and Sotho language groups (Setswana and Sesotho). Part of its vocabulary is also derived and borrowed from French, English, Latin, German, and some American slang (Molamu, 1995:144).

Molamu (1995: 144) further notes that, to a certain extent, flaaitaal has its roots in the domestic spaces where blacks (especially women) came into contact with Afrikaners since blacks worked for Afrikaners, mainly in Afrikaner areas and surrounding suburbs. Such areas include Vrededorp (Fietas),

Melville, Brixton, Montgomery Park, Randburg, amongst many others (indicated in Maps 1 and 2). Such white areas (Afrikaner and White populated areas) surrounded Sophiatown and, thus, were sources or means of employment amongst the Sophiatown residents (mainly Blacks), especially people who specialised in domestic spaces (gardeners, cleaners, and other forms of domestic work). It is worth noting that women are specialists within the domestic workspace and dominate to a certain extent. Due to the influx of people from different cultures and backgrounds as well as contact between black people with Afrikaners and coloureds in urban spaces, the Afrikaans syntax within the Tsotsitaal language was brought to existence.

The tsotsi community consisted of street corner delinquent teenagers who lacked proper upbringing and socialisation (Msimang, 1987:82). These youths turned-out to become tsotsis as a result of being orphans, illegitimate youths, and not being fully equipped educationally. They were, thus, not fully-literate and lacked professional skills (Msimang, 1987: 82). As a result, tsotsitaal and the tsotsi culture became popular amongst the black urban youths of South Africa during the 1940s and the 1960s. Throughout the 1940s and 1960s, gangsters were seen by many youths as prestigious actors of urban life as some became politically conscious and positioned themselves as enemies of apartheid by fighting the system. They were also considered enigmas as they gained economic access through illegal activities (Aycard, 2010: 60).

The influx into South Africa's urban spaces led to the rise of an urban generation of blacks who were in need of employment, and the black labour force was absolutely essential for the country's economic growth. To facilitate and maintain relations between black workers and white employees, a form of pidginised Afrikaans was adopted as a form of communication between the two parties. This is how Afrikaans was adopted in black communities and featured in tsotsitaal. Consequently, the presence of Afrikaans or its base in tsotsitaal can be derived from a band of Afrikaans which was spoken mainly by black domestic workers and workers at the coal-face of the mining industry (Molamu, 1995: 144). Tsotsitaal was later termed Kombuistaal or kitchen language as a result of its usage in domestic places by black domestic workers and their white employers.

The familiarity of Afrikaans amongst blacks led to the adaptation of Afrikaans by tsotsis known as Flaaitaal. Flaaitaal originated as a type of proto-pidgin, fashioned by expediency to lay the foundation for new communication systems (Sankoff, Mayernoff, & Nagy, 2008: 98). Tsotsis adopted Afrikaans and those who spoke the Afrikaans base tsotsitaal were classified as clever, modern and civilised urban tsotsis, whereas the ones who did not know or speak the Afrikaans syntax tsotsitaal were simply

classified as moegoes or rural boys. As a result, Flaaitaal was a language spoken mostly by gangsters and thugs due to the dominance of the Afrikaans syntax in tsotsitaal.

Flaaitaal was popular amongst tsotsis as a result of the status of Afrikaans during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. However, Deumert (2017: 5) indicates that such usage of Afrikaans in tsotsitaal is better understood as a form of cultural-linguistic appropriation or even parody. Thus, taking the language of the powerful oppressors and making it one's own, turning it upside down in the process. This was evident until the 1950s, which saw the interruption of the tsotsitaal speech community as a result of the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950. The removal of Sophiatown and Martindale residents to ethnically segregated townships in Soweto, as a result of the implementation witnessed and led to the partial disintegration of the tsotsitaal speech community (Molamu, 1995: 154).

Surprisingly, women (female youth) are seldom represented or mentioned in the scholarship detailing the history of tsotsitaal. This creates the impression that women weren't part of tsotsitaal formation and were not involved in any gangs or gang related affairs. According to Msimang (1987: 82), it seems as if women were not victims of improper upbringing and socialisation, unlike male youth. Beyond this, women were totally excluded from tsotsitaal, thus, only identifying young males (blacks and coloured's, to a certain extent) as the tsotsis.

To better consider the above, we will refer to Glaser's (1992) understanding of what being a tsotsi constitutes or the eligibility of one becoming a tsotsi. Tsotsi masculine identity hinged around fighting skills, independence, daring and law-breaking, stylishness and success with women. Adeptness in these areas determined a tsotsi's status and prestige as a 'man' (Glaser, 1992: 48). Glaser (1992: 48) further states that a man had to be a good fighter, not only for protection, but also to earn respect. Such status as a fighter stems from the fact that boxing gymnasia were extremely popular in the townships. Such that a young man's status and reputation were enhanced through winning fights. Glaser (1992: 48) raises a very important aspect, which is that gang leaders were generally the best fighters. In a nutshell, being a tsotsi was all about aggressiveness, stealing, crime, being a ladies man, being powerful (physically and territorially), and, to some extent, killing. As a result of the above-mentioned notion of a tsotsi, it is difficult to see where a feminine identity would fit, unless they had super masculine and man-like characteristics.

Additional indicators of a successful tsotsi or masculine accomplishment included that of the beauty and quantity of their girlfriends. This was so as women were attracted to the notorious, lavish lifestyle,

and money-making characteristics of tsotsi. Tsotsis competed furiously over beautiful women, which often led to attractive women being harassed (Glaser, 1992: 49). It was quite important for a gang leader to have an attractive and sought-after girlfriend. With that being said, Glaser (199: 52) states that it is clear that females appear to be marginal to youth subcultures such as that of the tsotsis. Absence of females in such subcultures could result from them spending less time in the gangs but more in the domestic sphere.

Township children, both boys and girls, tended to leave school at a very early age. However, girls were generally kept off the streets unlike boys (Glaser, 1992: 53). This could be due to fathers and mothers being stricter with their daughters. Therefore, young girls were hardly victims of the tsotsi subculture. Though occupied by a handful of domestic responsibilities and activities, young girls become closely associated with tsotsi gangs. This could have been through basic interaction in the neighbourhood, such as bumping into one another. This could, thus, result in them forming a simple relationship which unconsciously went to the next level. These young girls, however, were never involved in gang related activities such as mugging or gambling, but were the gangsters' molls (young girls) and moved around with them at parties and so on. Glaser (1992: 54) states that such molls were drawn peripherally into tsotsi criminal activities, whereby they were used as scouts, shoplifters and decoys, and such girls were known as noasisas. A typical example illustrated by Glaser (1992: 54) was that of a beautiful lady with large breasts named Stololo. She would go up to a shopkeeper, distract him by opening herself up, and then scream that the shopkeeper was trying to rape her. The tsotsis would then take the till. The noasisas though, were left out of the prestigious spheres of criminal activities such as planning robberies, holding the gun or knife, seizing the loot and many other criminal activities which needed the brave and masculine.

Women tended to be the rewards, the trophies for male successes. It is argued that tsotsi gangs saw women as accomplishments and nothing more. Apart from providing sexual and domestic services to males, they are the symbols of status to be won or lost in the tsotsi male-exclusive spheres.

The emergence of the tsotsi female

Glaser (1992: 60) indicates that the passage of time saw the emergence of a few individual women in the Witwatersrand townships who took tsotsis on at their own game. Such women were tough, independent fighters who managed to forge for themselves a certain amount of respect and personal discretion over their sexual lives. They were prepared to defend themselves with their fists, knives and guns. Therefore, in order to retain their independence and sexual freedom, they had to assume what

amounted to a masculine identity. In Sophiatown, these women were referred to as brekgat or wildeperde, terms, interestinglyenough, almost synonymous with'virgin'. These women were thought of as the type of women who didn't want to be touched by men, and were referred to as loners. The Berliners of Sophiatown was a women's gang which actively organised and trained women to fight alongside men (Glaser, 1992: 60). Amongst such women were molls who participated in fights and wore the gang tattoo, the swastika, along with the men. However, such a gang wing fell under the command of a larger male gang (Glaser, 1992:60).

Based on the above background of women in the tsotsi subculture, it is reasonable to hold that women were not initially tsotsis but were caught up within such a subculture as a result of associating themselves with tsotsis. These women later became instruments of tsotsis and assisted the men accomplishing some of their missions such as the case of Stololo. Women eventually had their own gang wing, which comprised of women, but were under the supervision (or under the umbrella) of their male counterparts. Though these women's wings consisted of dangerous and notorious gang leaders like, Mamang and Sinna, nonetheless, women must have practiced tsotsitaal since they spent some time with tsotsis and were also part of them. However, it remains a mystery as to why they are marginalised from such a subculture in history books.

Such scholarship, however, leaves certain questions unanswered. For example, the following three questions remain a thorny issue now that women and other underrepresented contributions to historical processes have taken centre stage. Firstly, how the Afrikaans syntax got its reference point into tsotsitaal from the domestic work space which is mostly dominated by women; secondly, how the role played by women in the birth of flaaitaal is not mentioned; and, lastly, how did Afrikaans vernacular and its syntax shift from domestic spaces to black townships, and what role did working class black men and women played in its relocation since they were not tsotsis but just mere domestic workers who could have directly or indirectly interacted with the tsotsis?

The merging of township tsotsis with Flaaiataal: The trace, emergence and origination of such a relationship?

According to my study, the birth of the Afrikaans syntax in tsotsitaal is the result of contact between coloured and black tsotsis, and to some extent ordinary people. As such, flaaitaal is a slightly tsotsified version of Afrikaans which shows that it was derived from coloured people who also lacked proper socialisation and were considered delinquents. Afrikaans spoken by coloured people was then easily adopted and included as part of tsotsitaal, as it was easy to grasp and speak by uneducated blacks

(mainly tsotsis). Afrikaans spoken by coloured people and white Afrikaners is only different in the tone, accent and depth when spoken. Coloured people have a significantly different tone and accent compared to white Afrikaners. An example is illustrated in Video 1 below.

The video focuses on Coloured people's view of Afrikaans, its origins and its rightful native speakers. Interestingly, is the way some of the speakers differentiate between Afrikaans spoken by white Afrikaners and that spoken by Coloureds. Political Activist and Academic Ziyana Lategan, indicates that Afrikaans was appropriated by white Afrikaners in an attempt to make it their native language. This led to a distinction between Afrikaans spoken by Coloureds and that of white Afrikaners, as a result of appropriateness, accent, tone, formality and so on. Radio presenter Sherlin Barends, and musician and actor Keeno Lee Hector both highlight the importance of the distinct Afrikaans vocabulary used by Coloureds (referred to as brown bodies) and white Afrikaners, whereby certain words are found and used by Coloureds but are not applicable or recognised in the white Afrikaner vocabulary. Such words include *Ggoggaa, and Booguu, while* others include *kom hiersoo* instead of *kom hier*. What is worth noting is the accent and tone of coloured Afrikaans speakers and white Afrikaans speakers. The videos and links attached below illustrate these points in practice.



Video 1: **Coloured South Africans discussing their connection to Afrikaans**
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x4A8NRsgNpc



Video 2: Video illustrating how White Afrikaners speak as compared to Coloured Afrikaans speakers
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O0i5zJZJLEk



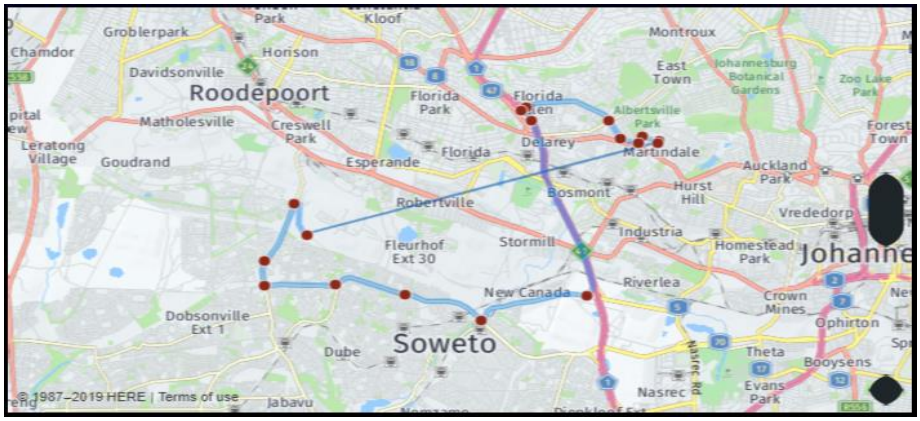
Video 3: The video is an illustration of the difference between Afrikaans spoken by Coloured people and native white Afrikaners. The focus is on the tone and depth of such a language, when spoken by Coloureds as compared to native white Afrikaners.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nnK0OnPRNZM

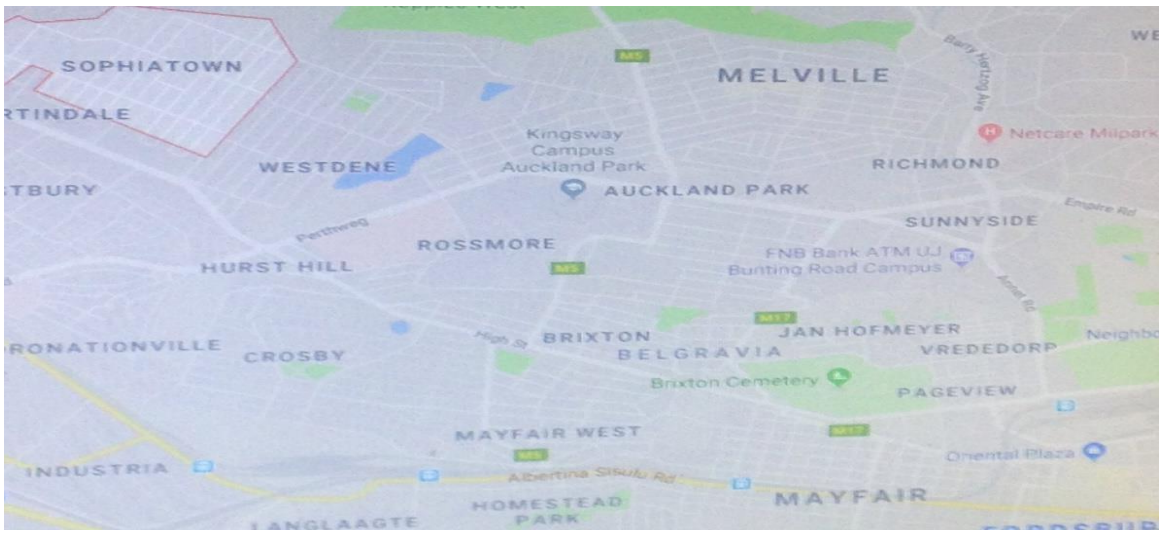
The videos above relating to accents and tone of white Afrikaners simply indicate how the language might be more complicated to follow when a white Afrikaner is speaking as a result of the tone and accent used. However, one can simply relate to a coloured Afrikaans speaker since the language sounds informal, and easy to follow based on the tone and accent of the speakers. This indicated earlier in the way coloured Afrikaans speakers were influential to flaaitaal amongst black South Africans. This was due to the fact that they were in regular contact with them and that it was easily to follow and **relatable** as a result of their tone and accent.

In order to demonstrate the spread of Afrikaans syntax in tsotsitaal, the study will provide a geographical map of Sophiatown and its surrounding areas. This indicates how Coloureds could have played a huge role in the birth of Flaaitaal due to their contact and interaction with blacks.

Map 1: The map illustrates the geographical map of Johannesburg and surrounding areas which further explains the birth, growth of Afrikaans and interaction of Coloured and black communities, mainly tsotsis.



Map 2: Map 2 also illustrates the geographical map of Johannesburg and surrounding areas which further explains the birth, growth of Afrikaans and interaction of Coloured and black communities, mainly tsotsis.



Sophiatown, as indicated on Maps 1 and 2, was surrounded by coloured populated areas.These include Westbury, Westdene, Martindale, Claremont, Bosmont and various other places. Sophiatown, as a suburb which was black dominated in the 1940s, and even now known as Triomf, is still surrounded by coloured, white and Afrikaans populated residential areas. It is, thus inevitable that Afrikaans and English were going to play a huge role in the lives of blacks in Sophiatown. This influence is also the result of life during that time, when English and Afrikaans were emphasised and used for all forms of formal communication purposes.

Tsotsitaal in the South African Film and Television industry

Programming practices prior to 1994 were mostly in standardised languages. These standardized forms of language use were strictly adhered to when it came to programming soapies, dramas, films and so on. Programmes of this nature will be examined in more detail at a later stage. Tsotsitaal, however, went on to make an appearance in music, especially in the Kwaito music industry. In the Kwaito industry, tsotsitaal was applied by artists such as Arthur Mofakate in his song titled *'Kaffir',* Jakarumba in his song *'Tussen',* amongst many others. As a result of its integration within the music industry, tsotsitaal gradually made its way into broadcast media.

The dawn of democracy saw the gradual emergence and deployment of tsotsitaal in South African television (soapies, dramas and film) and media. During the period prior to 1994, there was scarce deployment of tsotsitaal, especially flaaitaal in black South African television, dramas and films. Instead, one saw a vast usage of standardised South African indigenous languages. With the emergence and deployment of tsotsitaal in the South African mainstream media, its deployment pulled on two distinct tsotsitaal sub-strata, namely flaaitaal and tsotsitaal.

In its deployment in South African soapies, dramas and films, it has been observed that tsotsitaal speaking characters are associated with negative black masculinities and being a menace to society. This aligns with the tradition of the earlier scholarship that focused on tsotsitaal as an urban delinquent youth linguistic variety. Nonetheless, Iscamtho speaking characters, though embodying negative black masculinities, are depicted as lower in status, in terms of class and aspirations for social and economic mobility, whereas Flaaitaal speaking characters are portrayed as economically powerful, oppressive, mafias and dictators.

These representations invoke certain realities that play themselves in the broader social make up which invariably brings in historical developments of tsotsitaal and hierarchies of languages such Afrikaans, English, and how they dominated indigenous languages. Thus, such representation of both flaaitaal and iscamtho speaking characters in *Isidingo (1998), iNumber Number (2013), and Yizo Yizo (1999)* raises concerns and questions as to the kind of representation, and what could be the aim or the strategic ideological meaning behind such deployment. This raises further issues around whether the indigenous language speakers responses to this linguistic dominance where certain racial associations play themselves out in the manner in which they use the emerging linguistic varieties. In the case of the Afrikaans base tsotsitaal (Flaaitaal), the association is with an ordinary Afrikaner male identity perceived as aggressive, brutish, greedy, and oppressive and so forth, especially through the gaze of the black man. With that of the African Language base tsotsitaal (Iscamtho), the associations

are with South African youth in a subculture where they are identified as being rebellious, survivors and underdogs.

These historical realities of race relations and language seem to play themselves out in the black television soapies, dramas and films such as in *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999)*, *and iNumber Number (2013)*. This research explores the deployment of these two types of tsotsitaal varieties and the black masculinities associated with certain characters. The main focus of the research is to outline certain hidden, strategic, indirect meanings and ideologies behind the representation of tsotsitaal speaking characters in Post-Apartheid South African soapies, dramas and films. By doing so, the study looks at whether the representation of flaaitaal speaking characters could be a mere reflection of the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity or rather a sort of alibi for Afrikaner-ness.

Such correlation and resemblance is as a result of the stereotyped, generalised, and normalised identity of the ordinary Afrikaner male. During Apartheid, when they possessed personal attributes such as being heartless, cruel, self-centred, violently powerful (by force), aggressive, oppressive, and associated with incitement of gruesome events which contained violence, oppression, segregation, and dictatorship. The characters which will be used for analysis are from *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999),* and *iNumber Number (2013)*.

Such flaaitaal speaking characters include Darlington Michaels (Papa G in *Isidingo*), Dominic Tyawa (Bra Gibb *in Yiz Yizo*), and Owen Sejake (Mambane in *INumber Number*). All of these characters are old, grey-haired black men who are economically well-off, bossy and bullish, and obtained most of their wealth through illegal means and by forcefully oppressing others. Such masculine identities are very cruel, gruesome and whoever doesn't abide by their wishes will be dealt with, mostly, violently or by killing. Though these characters occupy different roles in their respective films, the above is a summary of all of their characteristics.

The research will analyse the characteristics and behaviour (nature) of such characters and illustrate critical observations which *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999),* and *iNumber Number (2013)* seem to have adopted with regards to language variety. Another focus of the study will be the way iscamtho speaking characters, in *Yizo Yizo* (1999), are portrayed as visionless, uneducated, violent, rude, petty criminals, murderers, and societal ills, who, run around killing, raping and being errand boys of flaaitaal speaking characters. These young, iscamtho speaking black masculine identities include that of Chester and Papa Action amongst a few others in *Yizo Yizo (1999).* As a result of such attributes

associated with iscamtho speaking characters, the study will shift focus to examine how their conduct and behaviour affects the livelihood of others within the community in relation to safety, education and self-esteem. Their behaviour is considered intolerable, disturbing and beyond repair.

Aim

The main aim of the research is to outline certain hidden and ideological meanings behind the deployment of tsotsitaal (flaaitaal) in Post-Apartheid South African soapies, dramas, and films. In addition, the study will aim to:

- Investigate how old grey-haired black masculine identities associated with an Afrikaans tsotsitaal syntax are projected as those who are social miss-fits, ills of society, cruel, self-centred, mafia types, mainly by South African filmmakers. Could this be a mere reflection and a retelling in a post-1994 society of the apartheid era ordinary Afrikaner masculine identities as a result of their personal traits, and how they rose to power?
- To ascertain the extent to which representation of language in the media (using soapies and drama) could be read as hidden transcripts, used to send various ideologies and messages to the audience which contain hidden and vital coded messages.
- Explore how the representation of certain negative black masculinities in soapies can be read unconsciously, as they contribute to the general problematics on the construction of blackness which began with Hollywood's representation of black people…

Argument

The line of argument taken in this research is drawn from Ana Deumert (2017). Deumert pays attention to usage theof Afrikaans in tsotsitaal and states that such could have broader and deeper unconscious meanings and ideologies. These include cultural-linguistic appropriation or even parody. Thus, this is where the language of the oppressor is adopted as one's own, turning it upside down in the process. Deumart (2017) also looks at the origins of tsotsitaal, its growth and its decline. In her study, she focuses on the representation of tsotsitaal in the media, specifically focusing on audience perspectives with regards to flaaitaal speakers on/in South African soapies and drama series. Deumert's study focuses on the way such a language is represented along with the characters used (associated with the language). She does not, however, examine how such representation could entail ideologically or strategically manipulations in relation to standard Afrikaans and its speakers. In her study, Deumart (2017) indicates that flaaitaal, the strongly Afrikaans-based "language of the streetwise", is the language of those who are 'fly', clever and quick-witted, and Shalambombo is

Nguni-based prison argot. This has been helpful as it laid the ground for understanding how influential Afrikaans was during this period.

The argument raised by the study is how such deployment of tsotsitaal implicitly recast South African racial politics as it plays out in the South African soap opera (*Isidingo, 1998*), drama (*Yizo Yizo, 1999*), and film (*iNumber Number, 2013*). Focusing heavily and paying thorough attention on the construction of black masculinities and their affiliation with tsotsitaal in these filmic narratives, it has been observed that there are issues of classism, oppression, discrimination, privilege, and inequality (treatment, distribution of resources, wealth) amongst tsotsitaal speaking characters. As a result, the study has observed that such could be the implicit recast of South African racial politics, especially that of the Apartheid era, where there was inequality amongst races and languages. Whites (English and Afrikaners) were highly privileged (economically and status wise), whereas blacks were not privileged and were also oppressed, discriminated against, and treated as inconsequential in their own native (home) land by whites.

Such an observation stems from the racial politics of the Apartheid era, where native white Afrikaner speakers where much more privileged and well-off compared to black South Africans. This included economically, linguistically (language dominance), in their life-style, educationally and so on. This inequality continues even today (post -1994). Black society was oppressed and discriminated against and blacks were seen as nothing but subjects which could be oppressed, dictated, and controlled in their own native land. Black society occupied areas on the outskirts of town or far from city centres, in shanties that were over-crowded informal settlements and townships (Soweto, Alexandra), whereas, whites occupied the lavish, fancy, and peaceful suburbs in and around city centres and towns (Randburg, Roosevelt Park, Northcliff, Mondeor, etc.).

In education, blacks were forced to use Afrikaans as a language of learning and teaching which led to the Soweto 1976 Uprising. This is where learners in Soweto protested against such an initiative or law, and fought with the white Afrikaner police. The Group Areas Act of 1950 in Sophiatown witnessed the forceful removals of blacks to designated areas (mainly Soweto) far from city centres, by the white Afrikaner government using the police as its agents. The white Afrikaner government during the apartheid era censored the media. Any content (film, news, television, etc.), which went against their agenda, ideology or wishes was simply not published. This will be further discussed in the literature review.

The white Afrikaner government during apartheid did not portray a positive attitude towards blacks and, as a result of this, a stereotype has been formulated towards the ordinary native Afrikaner identity (mostly male), especially by blacks. Anything that has Afrikaans in it resembles oppression, greediness, dictatorship and violence, and so on as a result of the way ordinary native Afrikaans speaking individuals presented themselves during Apartheid, and to some extent beyond apartheid. We ought to also bear in mind that privilege was not equal between blacks and white during apartheid, and this continues even today. Thus such deployment of flaaitaal in South African film and television could be a form of addressing such inequalities (political, racial, linguistically, economically and so on).

The above mentioned inequality is still evident in a post-1994 democratic society, where the black man is still underprivileged and indirectly oppressed. This form of oppression is evident in that they are economically excluded, live under poverty, and always look up to their white masters who provide jobs. They have much respect for the white man's language compared to their own, which are not being properly promoted. Instead, they are forced to accept and know the white man's language as it drives the economic, political, educational and administrative spheres of the country. In simple terms, most black lives and their languages are still underprivileged and oppressed by the white man's lives and languages. This is what this study is trying to examine based on the representations and deployment of tsotsitaal in *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999)*, and *iNumber Number (2013).*

Such deployment of tsotsitaal, in a post-1994 national broadcast, implies very disturbing understandings. That is, in post-1994 South Africa just as there has been inequality based on privilege in the past, such inequalities will always continue and it will be entrenched along lines where certain groups associated with a particular language will be dominant and economically well-off through the illegal (and brutal) attainment of wealth and resources. The representations of black masculinities as having embodied their erstwhile oppressors offer indirectly coded meanings of a gangster language affiliated to Afrikaans (Flaaitaal) which embodies the personal attributes of their toxic Afrikaner counterparts, dominant during Apartheid. From the historically-derived stereotype of a typical racist and toxic Afrikaner identity, black people who reeled under the oppressive authority of this group perceived them as oppressive and manipulative towards other racial groups. In these black filmic narratives, Flaaitaal speakers convoke such memories of trauma and dehumanisation and the personal attributes historically associated with racist toxic Afrikaners are now invested in powerful black characters who are flaaitaal speakers.

The deployment of tsotsitaal in a post-1994 South African filmic narrative and context attests to freedom of speech and how, through this language, black filmmakers are able to speak back to the Afrikaner epochs. This significant development would not have been possible pre-1994 due to the censorship of the media, and because of the emphasis on the usage of standardised languages and control over the means of production and distribution of media content and music by white people. Freedom of speech in post-1994 South African media was driven by the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) which was formalised in August and September 1994 by the then South African Minister of the DACST, Dr Ben Ngubane (Botha, 2003 : 187). The mandate of such an initiative was to promote the rich and diverse expression of South African culture, so that all citizens are guaranteed the right to practice their culture, language, beliefs and customs, as well as enjoying freedom of expression and creativity (Botha, 2003 : 187).

Before 1994 there was no freedom of speech in the media. Any content which seemed to displease the White government would simply be edited or not distributed. Post-1994 deployment of tsotsitaal in a variety of cultural forms is a result of embracing linguistic hybridity which was rarely accommodated in South African cinema or television during apartheid. Freedom of speech within the media, thus, led to the expression of creativity by South African filmmakers and producers. This eventually led to the deployment of tsotsitaal in post-1994 South African television. Such creativity is intellectually and creatively applied in *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999),* and *iNumber Number (2013),* in which a version of the language of the oppressor (flaaitaal), though associated with black masculinities, could contain coded (hidden or indirect) messages that simply reveal and speak back to the nature of racist, toxic Afrikaner masculinities.

Rationale

The deployment of language in a soap opera, drama or film could, to some extent, be a mere reflection or representation of native speakers of that particular language. Language deployed on television soapies, dramas and films contains a deeper meaning and message. In most cases, the language deployed in television soapies, dramas and films depicts the culture (behaviour, lifestyle, history) of its native speakers. Thus, the deployment of language in a soapy, drama, or film is crucial and should be considered as vital to the way soapies, dramas and films perceive a particular group of people associated with that language (native speakers).

To some extent, language in the media can be deployed as a form of mimicry or aping a particular linguistic group, particularly native speakers of that language. Such occurs mostly in South African

adverts where someone from a distinct linguistic and racial group is used to imitate or mimic another distinct linguistic and racial group. This way of playing around a linguistic or racial group becomes a strategic way of sending a message even when it is stereotyping a racial and linguistic group. An illustration of such would be that of Mzansi Magic's *sibiya* (2013) which reflects Zulu culture and displays certain stereotypes associated with the Zulu nation, culture and its people. Many other telenovas, soapies, dramas and so on play around stereotypes of particular linguistic groups in their representation of characters associated with that particular linguistic group. An example to be illustrated later on in the study is that of the L-Tido featuring AKA song titles '*No Favours'.* This music video plays around the stereotypes of Flaaitaal speaking individuals and Zulu speaking individuals.

The present study will be taking a distinct direction compared to other studies of tsotsitaal as it focuses on its deployment in post-1994 South African television and film. Other studies generally focus on tsotsitaal's history, origins, growth, death, and so forth. This is what makes such a study very unique. Most studies of tsotsitaal are indistinguishable and contain more or less similar content. Such works include that of Aycard (2010) which focuses on the 1940s and 1960s gangsters, who were seen by many youth as prestigious actors of urban life due to being enemies of Apartheid police, and pays attention to the decline and death of tsotsitaal.

On the other hand, Hurst (2008) touches on the origins of Tsotsitaal and states that tsotsitaal was first observed in Sophiatown in the 1940s, and was mainly spoken in black townships. Furthermore, Hurst (2008) examines the growth of tsotsitaal, its popularity amongst urban youths and the usage of today's tsotsitaal which is referred to as Iscamtho. Msimang (1987) also studies the origins and developments of tsotsitaal, its nature and its borrowing of words from English, Afrikaans and Zulu. All of the above works merely look into the history, development, vocabulary, community, and death of tsotsitaal, without any understanding of its deployment in post-1994 South African mainstream media. This is another reason I chose to do a study on tsotsitaal as it hasn't been thoroughly touched on before, thus opening doors and channels for a new way of studying tsotsitaal, language and its deployment in the South African mainstream media (and international media).

A number of works align with my study as they indicate how the media can deliberately associate individuals and languages with particular attributes so as to create a stereotypical stable and universal identity. In their book titled '' *Power, Politics, and Identity in South African Media***''** Hadland, Louw, Sesanti & Wasserman (2008) indicate that the American mainstream media tends to associate black men to crime, violence, drug dealing, and gangster rap, thus terming such representation as tough

disguise. The book further indicates that most South African films, soapies, dramas and the media associate black masculinities with crime, violence, and cruelness which lead to stigma and stereotyping.

In relation to the representations of black masculinities, Craig (1992) highlights the aspect of media (television, film, news) leaning on programmes with content that negatively depict the lives of black masculinities. Buasch (2013) further indicates how young black males in the 1990s were consistently a site for anxiety in American society. He discussed the way the media in America zoned in on the role of young black men in violent crimes, especially gang violence. As a result of the above mentioned works on black masculinities in the mainstream media, more specifically American media, it is worth noting that black masculinity has always been associated with negativity.

Thus, it does not come as a surprise that black masculinities associated with tsotsitaal are depicted in *Isidingo (1998), iNumber Number (2013), and Yizo Yizo (1999)* in such a negative manner, as greedy, capital monopolists, cruel, mafias, violent, uneducated and so forth. As a result of their association with flaaitaal, it is worth taking into consideration that this could be an indirect, ideological and strategic type of a reverse gaze, depicting the identity of racist, toxic ordinary Afrikaner masculinities. This study will be beneficial to the field as it is relative to the depiction of black masculinities in the media all over the world. Black masculinities are consistently negatively represented in films, dramas, and soapies especially in the Americas and such a norm, stereotyping, and disease has trickled down to the African diaspora, particularly in South Africa. The work of Craig (1992) and Buasch (2013) will assist in further exploring the problematic portrayal of black masculinities in a South African context.

Another work relevant to this study is that of Ana Deumert (2017). Deumert focuses on the origins, growth and representation of tsotsitaal in the media, specifically focusing on audience perspectives with regards to flaaitaal speakers in South African soapies and dramas. Deumert's study focuses on the way flaaitaal is represented along with the characters used but not the way such representation could entail ideologically or strategic manipulation in relation to standard Afrikaans and its speakers. Thus, this will help in my study as we will also be observing whether such a representation of flaaitaal is merely an indication of how influential Afrikaans was historically.

Deumart's work will be relevant to my study as it focuses on the deployment and representation of tsotsitaal in the South African media, which is similar to my work. Not only does Deumart examine tsotsitaal in the media, but the deployment of language in general in the media. My study will draw

on the work by Deumart and refer to it, since I'm also looking into the deployment of a particular language within the media. In addition, it will further examine what such deployment of language associated with images could entail (strategically, ideologically, directly, or indirectly).

Research Questions

To what extent could the deployment of Tsotsitaal post-1994 recast Apartheid polarities and hierarchies of race between Black and White (Afrikaner) male identities?

To what extent does the disruptive nature of tsotsitaal bring about new understandings of black and white toxic masculinities in post–1994 South Africa? Are these understandings of post–Apartheid construction of toxic masculinities or are there hidden readings of these constructions? To what extent could a language such as flaaitaal be mere depiction of an ordinary Afrikaner identity as perceived through the eyes of the black gaze?

Sub-Question 1

What are the in–built features in tsotsitaal varieties which makes one more consistently resilient (iscamtho) than the other (flaaitaal)?

Sub-Question 2

What kinds of assignations can be ascribed to speakers of flaaitaal and iscamtho? What kinds of construction and interpretations can be extrapolated when the deployment of tsotsitaal is divided between flaaitaal and iscamtho speakers? What kinds of class positionalities are intended by the deployment of flaaitaal and iscamtho for particular characters?

Sub–Question 3

What could be the influence behind the deployment of tsotsitaal in a post–1994 South African film? Are such films implicitly recasting South African racial politics, especially as these play themselves out between Afrikaner and African males?

Literature Review

This study, as compared to other studies, will look specifically at the deployment of tsotsitaal in post-1994 South African film. The literature review consists of five sections, with the first being literature or scholarship about the history of filmmaking in South Africa, and the second being on black

masculinities (in film). The third section will be on black middle class-ness and its representation in filmic media. The fourth section is literature on mimicry, while the fifth section will consider scholarship on framing. The last section will be literature that talks to tsotsitaal.

History of filmmaking in South Africa

In relation to history of filmmaking in South Africa, this study will draw on the work of Shepperson and Tomaselli (2002). Shepperson and Tomaselli (2002:66) indicate the way South African cinema and film (media) operated on the production subsidy system which witnessed the monopolistic distribution and exhibition of films by the state (and whites only). They further argue that by the year 2000, there was an inheritance of exclusively white ownership of the means of production and distribution, initially limiting the participation of black capital/investment agencies. This eventually led to the media still being in the hands of the white minority, thus, enabling them the privilege of distribution and exhibition of films (media) in ways that appealed to them or their ideologies, intentions and aims.

As indicated by both Shepperson and Tomaselli (2002), it is the result of the above that led to the establishment, introduction and implementation of the Arts and Culture Action Group (Williams, 1996) by the Government of National Unity (GNU) to prepare Parliamentary White Papers on cultural and film policy. One of the ACTAG's objectives was to seek ways of extending ownership of cinema production and distribution to those excluded by the old systems, namely non-whites (Blacks, Indians and Coloureds).

The study will also refer to Botha (2003) who focuses on film in South Africa (in general). Botha (2003:183) indicates that between 1959 and 1980 South African local filmmakers were not exposed to cinematic developments which were happening in other parts of the world as a result of moral and political censorship (Botha, 2003:183). He further argues that while the rest of the world (including several other African countries) were exploring the artistic, social and political possibilities of the medium to the fullest, South Africa was producing hundreds of Afrikaans soapies.

Any film that in any way reflected the South African society in turmoil, was banned by the state or received no distribution whatsoever, and, thus, did not qualify for any film subsidy (Botha, 2003:184). There was huge censorship within the film industry and a monopoly by the Afrikaner government. Thus, anything (content, film, ideology) which threatened the Afrikaner identity and ideology was banned or dismissed (muted). The mid-1980s can be regarded as the turning point in the South African film industry as several feature films began to critically examine the South African milieu, apartheid

and colonial history, and also gave a voice to those who were previously marginalised by apartheid (Botha, 2003:185). Approximately 944 features were made during the 1980s, as well as nearly 998 documentaries and several hundred short films and videos, and at least 20 to 30 remarkable indigenous local feature films were made (Botha, 2003:186). Films such as *Mapantsula (1988*) offer a vivid portrayal of the State of Emergency in the late eighties. *On the Wire (1990)*, was about psychological scars left by the war in Namibia and Angola. *The Road to Mecca (1991)* was a film on the life of artist Helen Martins. Other examples include: *Andrew Worsdale's Shotdown*, a political satire; and the evocative Afrikaans dramas with strong female characters — *Fiela se kind (1988); Die Stork van Klara Viljee (1992)*; and *Paljas 91997). Jobman (1989)* was a strong anti-apartheid drama set in the years after Sharpeville; and Manie van Rensburg's masterful portrayal of Afrikaner nationalism during the 1940s in The Fourth Reich. From the beginning of the 1990s, the film industry witnessed the inclusion of previously marginalised voices within the film and media industry. These included mainly short films, and documentaries based on women, gays, lesbians, the homeless and various other themes (socio-cultural problems).

Ellapen (2007:134) states that racialized Africanness has become an important issue in the creation of a 'new' South African body politic as white South Africans have historically been in control of an image that has been accused of being refracted through a colonising camera (or gaze). Ellapen (2007:134) further argues that it is also worth noting that in a post-apartheid South Africa, white artists (filmmakers included) have been accused of being the "vehicles which perpetuate those very structures of violence and inequality". Ellapen further states that it is only white filmmakers and producers who are guilty of mimicking conditions of racist oppression, perpetuating those very structures of violence and inequity, and negative representations of black masculinities. The question is whether an image constructed by a black South African filmmaker will be free of the colonial mentality that has oppressed Africa for centuries and represent black identity 'authentically'? Ellapen (2007) zooms into the overall representation of black images in South African film, and to a certain extent argues that such representation could be the result of the domination of white people in filmmaking and ownership of the media.

The above studies will help my research in that that they thoroughly examine South Africa from its emergence (pre- apartheid), growth (apartheid era), and present (post-1994). Therefore, making the nature of how film was and is currently clear. This will help my study to indicate how the deployment tsotsitaal in South African film came about (in post-1994) and what could be the reasons (freedom of expression, democracy, etc.) behind this as compared to pre-1994. These studies will also be beneficial

to my study as they look at deployment of language and representation of class (blacks/black-middleclassness) in South African film narrative (pre and post–1994). In general, such studies pave the way and provide a reference to my study by relating (linking) facts, findings, observations and assumptions.

Black masculinity

The theory of black masculinity looks at the depiction of black masculinities within film, cinema, and television. That is, the stereotyped (normalised) identity of black masculinities. It has been argued and illustrated by many theorists and authors that Black images have always been negatively represented in the media, especially television. Black masculinity is always associated with negative-ness and depicted as trouble and a public enemy on television. It is, thus, the norm and a tradition that black masculinities are societal ills and public enemies and, to some extent, somewhat toxic to the broader society. This is evident in most American films and gangster films, where the black man is always the bad guy. These films include *City of God (2002)*, and *Tsotsi* (2005) amongst many others.

One very typical and interesting example is that of Matabane's *State of Violence* (2010) which illustrates violence as an incurable disease amongst black lives in a post-apartheid society. This is achieved by associating the black male of Alexandra township with extreme and unstoppable violence dating back to events which occurred during the apartheid era. Craig (1992) highlighted and emphasized the issue of the media (television, film, news) leaning on programmes with content that negatively depict the lives of black masculinities. Black masculinity will help us understand why flaaitaal (Afrikaans syntax of tsotsitaal) is associated with old, grey-haired black masculinities though their language is not that of the black man but that of the Afrikaner identity.

In his book titled *I Am Who I Am,* Brown (2008) examines the representation of Black masculinity in popular culture and illustrates the importance of race being a master status in understanding the enactment of identity. This is because black masculinity turns out to be negatively represented in most instances. Thus, Brown indicates that meaning and attributions associated with blackness (in film, televisions, adverts and other popular culture) have always been overwhelmingly negative. Gray (1995) also looks at black heterosexual masculinity in popular culture. He looks at how this masculinity was used in policy debates, television, news, and popular film representations to link the signs of patriotism, whiteness, family, nation and individual responsibility.

Hadland et al. (2008) take a closer look into the representation of black images in American and South African media. This contribution focuses on the representations of Black Masculinities in South African and American popular culture. The book argues that the American mainstream media tends to associate black men to crime, violence and gangster rap, thus, terming such representation as tough disguise. The book illustrates an example from the film *Shaft (1971)* which depicts the lives of young black men as that of crime, violence and drug dealing. It is also indicated in the book that most South African films, soapies, dramas, and media associate black masculinities with crime, violence and cruelity, which leads to stigma and stereotyping. In relation to the representations of black masculinities, Craig (1992) highlights the issue of the media (television, film, news) leaning on programmes with content that negatively depicts the lives of black masculinities. Buasch (2013) notes how the American media plays around the negative representation of young black masculinities. In particular, Buasch (2013) argues that young black males, in the 1990s, were always a site for anxiety in American society and the media in America zoned in on the role of young black men in violent crimes, especially gang violence. Furthermore Buasch (2013) states how film can act as a contested space for debate on the society in which we live, rather than serving as an entertainment platform. In general, Buasch (2013) heavily focuses on the representation of Black Masculinities (women and men) in the American media.

A review on black masculinity will play a vital role in understanding the strategic means of associating Black images with anxiety, violence, and negativity by the media. It has become a norm, stereotype and universal fact that black masculinities, as depicted in films, are ambassadors of criminal activities and leads to societal ills. Thus, black masculinities are so negatively and toxically represented that their images are at times deployed to mimic the other (different race) who is also very toxic and involved in other types of criminal activities and a source of all societal ills. Thus, the blame, negativity and shaming is always directed at the black images. These theories will allow this study to relate to the representation of black masculinity in the mass media. Examining the way black masculinities are always associated with negativity, toxic-ness, as a source of societal ills, criminals, violent and so on, in the media throughout the world.

Associated with the oppressors' language and possessing all the personal and behavioural characteristics, as a form of mimicry-ing, black images are negatively represented and thus are blamed for the negative and toxic image of the oppressor. This is not a surprise as the representation of black images in Post-1994 South African soapies, dramas and films draws from such stereotyped and normalised images of the black self on television. As the study digs deeper into how such

representation of flaaitaal associated with black male characters could be mimicry of the native Afrikaner male identity, lack masculinity in the media will play an important role in explaining the way black masculinities are negatively associated with the language of their then oppressor.

Black middle class-ness

Pre-1994, few Black television dramas and films in South Africa spoke to black middles class-ness. In these dramas and B scheme films, blacks were depicted as the funny ones, foolish ones, problematic ones, willigans, criminals, backwards, violent, associated with witchcraft (occult), unruly and so on. Films such as these included *Msefane (1980), Ikati Elimnyama (1975)* amongst many other films. These films made blacks look like fools, portrayed as uncivilised. Ndlovu (2013:382) indicates that television in South Africa was introduced on January 5th 1976, and was primarily intended for white viewership. Where black characters were presented, they only depicted as functionaries or domestics. An example is the introduction of two television channels by the apartheid government in 1983, namely TV and TV 3.

Such television stations, aimed exclusively at the growing black middle class, carried a lot of 'traditional' programmes depicting the African as belonging in the past, incompatible with or inadequate for the city and modernity (Ndlovu, 2013:382-383). Few dramas and films spoke to black middle class-ness, and those that did associated Black middle class-ness with criminal activities. For one to fall within the Black middle class bracket, they had to be involved in some form of illegal activity. For example, *Ikati Elimnyama (1975)* speaks to black middle class-ness, as Mr Ndaba is a very successful businessman who mysteriously became rich either through scamming (black cat cards/gambling) or occult (use of the black cat in the form of occult to be rich). Black middle class-ness has always been problematized and depicted as a class which one has to go the illegal route to fall within.

It is post-1994 that South African soapies, dramas and films begin to speak to black middle class-ness. Factors leading to such representation could be that of democracy, freedom of expression, and the diverse rainbow nation where everything is possible. Black middle class-ness is evident in post-1994 South African programmes such as *The River (2018)*, *Generations: The Legacy (2014)*, and *Isidingo* (1998) amongst many others. In such programmes, the images of black lives are socially uplifting as they portray successful and empowered black lives and also powerful black business moguls. This portrayal of the possibility of blacks being capable and able to make it anywhere in life brings about some social uplifting within the black audience. In these images, the black audience is fed that

positivity towards life and is encouraged to construct a belief that one day they can be successful. These soapies centre around the theme of wealthy and successful blacks in the mining industry (*The River*), corporate world (*Generations: The Legacy*), taxi industry, and mining industry.

Black middleclassness

The study will revisit Williams and Qualls (1989) revists black middle-class-ness in the United States, where they touch on what the is black middle class is, its importance and why it should be studied, how it grew, and the behaviour of the black middle class. Williams and Qualls (1989:267) argue that in 1960, the middle class in the United States accounted for only 13% of black workers. Today, one-third of all black households have middle class incomes of $35,000 or more, and one in ten families has an income of $50,000 or more. Williams and Qualls (1989:264), in defining the black middle class, state that factors such as income, education, occupation, or a combination of any of these should be considered. In defining black middle class-ness, one ought to take note of the above mentioned. Williams and Qualls (1989) go further to explain reasons for studying black middleclass-ness, behaviour of the black middle class, black middle class-ness in the advertising space, and so on.

Ndlovu (2013) touches on black middleclassness and the effects of particular television programmes (reality shows) in post-1994 South Africa. In this work, Ndlovu looks into black middle class-ness and how television has fixed certain black families in post-1994 in South Africa as a result of their representation. The focus is on SABC 2's show called *Relate*, SABC 1's programme *Khumbul' ekhaya* and Etv's *Forgive and Forget.* Through their focus on interpersonal relationships within families and their desire to re-establish, mend, heal and make whole, these three talk shows ask a number of broad but pointed questions: what does political independence and the imagined sense of nationhood mean to the personal and/or familial lives of formally repressed and marginalised South Africans post-1994? What role does television play in the expression of 'real' personal affect? Who uses the medium of television to resolve personal conflicts, and why? What drives guests to disclose their personal feelings and problems through the public medium of television? What do guests benefit and are they prone to exploitation? How does television, particularly the therapeutic talk show genre, mediate new configurations of selfhood, family and nation?

Davidson (2001) looks into the Controversial issues surrounding the Black Ethcaste Elite in the Americas. Such work focuses heavily on black middleclassness in American (United States) families. Davidson (2001) also touches on how colonial oppression and economic exploitation have victimised all black ethnic groups, which is an illustration of economic and wealth inequality. Furthermore,

Davidson emphasizes the socio-economic diversity of the black middle class in the United States and socio-cultural diversity as a consequence of its African cultural roots.

Mhlambi (2011) in *A world in creolization*, Mhlambi looks into pre-1994 white dominant television in South Africa, and its depiction of black middle class-ness. Mhlambi (2011) further argued that the post-apartheid ruling elite used mainstream media, including broadcast media, to propagate neo-Liberal ideologies to an African public, formerly conscientized on Marxist ideologies, in response to pressure by the global capitalist. Mhlambi further touches on black television, especially in South Africa, and points out black middle class-ness in programmes such as *Hlala Kwabafiliyo* (1994), and *Ifa Lakwa-Mthethwa* (1995).

My study will revisit the following films, dramas, and soapies in relation (relative) to the way they define and portray black middle class-ness in South Africa. Further analysis and briefings will be indicated in the main dissertation as to how such media texts play around black middle class-ness, what can be picked up, made up, and concluded as a result of such representations? Additionally, it will question: What stereotypes and universal facts can be generated regarding black middle class-ness as a result of this portrayal? To what extent can such representations be problematic or non-relative, thus, is black middle class-ness a fallacy, false hope, a reality and how is it being problematized? How is it associated with indecency, criminality, and other illegal means of being successful in life? The listed below texts are clear indicators of black middle class-ness pre-1994 and post-1994 South Africa and will assist uncovering what is at the root of black middle class-ness.

Generations: The Legacy (2014) speaks to black middle class-ness in post-1994 South Africa. In *Generations*, the black middle class is depicted as those who are influential, educated, business people, characters in their late-twenties or mid-thirties, who are successful and living a decent, honest life. Such individuals follow the legal and societal procedures (getting education, working hard, etc.) of being successful so as to fit within that black middle class bracket. *Generations*: *The Legacy* (2014) indicates that black middle class-ness does exist and one can fall within that bracket through perseverance, hard-work, dedication, passion and patience.

Uzalo (2015) looks at black middle class-ness from a township perspective, specifically based in Kwa-Mashu in Durban, Kwa-Zulu Natal. *Uzalo's* depiction (definition) of black middle class-ness is that of a fairly wealthy and well-off but greedy, cruel and non-law abiding businessperson with no educational background, who lives a lavish lifestyle in the townships. They are part of the group that falls into the

black middle class-ness indicated through criminality and the illegal accumulation of wealth. In short, black middle class-ness is problematized in *Uzalo* (2015) as it associates black middleclassness with negativity in a black township. Therefore, proposing that, in order for blacks (within a township setting) to be part of that black middle class bracket, they need and are bound to follow a criminal route. Black middle class-ness can never be fairly, honestly and legally achieved, especially within a township setting.

The River (2018) speaks to that of a black middle class-ness in the corporate world (mining industry), which is situated in the Refilwe (Cullinan) informal settlement in Pretoria. Black middleclassness is depicted by Lindiwe Diakan, who acquired ownership of the mine (Khanyisa Diamond) through illegal and unlawful means from its rightful owner Walter Sotshongaye. To achieve this, Lindiwe drugged Walter, killed his brother and then framed Walter as the killer. This was because Walter was drugged and unconscious and then woke up next to the corpse of his brother. Walter was arrested for a murder he did not commit with the help of a corrupt police officer, Tshabalala, who is on Lindiwe's payroll. Walter ultimately lost all rights of ownership of the mine and that's how Lindiwe hijacked the mine from him. Throughout the televona, black middleclassness is negated and associated with wealthy individuals who are greedy, corrupt and restless.

Imbewu (2018) speaks slightly positively to black middle class-ness in an urban setting of Durban in Kwa-Zulu Natal. The Black middle class are depicted as those who are from well-off families, with good education, sufficient business knowledge, are civilized and law abiders. When compared to other films, soapies, and dramas (telenovelas), *Imbewu* speaks positively on modern (post-millennium) black middle class and how it is possible for the black child to make it all the to the middle class by following proper procedures (abiding the law and working hard). *Imbewu*, unlike the others mentioned previously, does not problematize black middle class-ness but portrays it in a very motivating and appealing way.

These television dramas are of importance and helpful to the study as they provide different perspectives of what constitutes the black middle class bracket, what is black middle class-ness, and what stereotypes and generalisations are there regarding black middle class-ness. In relation to my study, these works partially (if not in their entirety) respond to why black middle class-ness in *Isidingo (1998)*, *Yizo Yizo (1999)* and ***iNumber Number (2013)*** could be problematized, and how this builds on stereotypes and generalisations. These works will speak to other depictions of black masculinity

(women included) which is economically, materially and financially well-off, and how relative and possible this could be in a new South Africa.

Mimicry

A review on works regarding mimicry in television and film is of high significance to the study. This is because the study examines the extent to which the deployment of flaaitaal in the drama, soapy and film are a mere mimicry or aping of toxic native Afrikaner masculine identity. This mimicry could be that toxic native Afrikaner masculine identity with whom blacks came into contact during apartheid. Amongst attempts to define mimicry, Bhabha (1984:126) states that mimicry is a sign of a double articulation, a complex strategy of reform, regulation, and discipline, which appropriates the Other as it visualises power. Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, a difference or a recalcitrance which cohers tothe dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an imminent threat to both normalised knowledge and disciplinary powers (Bhabha, 1984:126). Mimicry involves the gaze of otherness that shares the acuity of the genealogical gaze, whereby the observer becomes the observed.

Bhabha looks deeper into mimicry and indicates how it is affiliated to colonialism or the effects of colonial rule. Bhabha defines mimicry as irony and repetition, to mention a few characteristics. He introduces colonial mimicry which is described as the most elusive and effective strategy of colonial power and knowledge. This includes the desire for a reformed, recognisable Other as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite (Bhabha, 1984:126). He further indicates how this double vision of mimicry is disruptive of authority, in that the basis of mimicry articulates those disturbances of cultural, racial, and historical difference that menace the narcissistic demand of colonial authority. More relevant and motivating to my study is when Bhabha (1984:129) indicates how mimicry repeats rather than re-presents. With that being said, my study has some form of reference point since it will examine the extent to which deployment of flaaitaal in the soapy, drama and film is a form of mimicry of the native Afrikaner masculine identity.

Mhlambi (2022) analyses Nyembezi in the novel *Inkinsela YaseMgungundlovu* (1961), which examines mimicry from a perspective of how Africans mimic the British. Mhlambi illustrates how Nyembezi is critical of Africans who have willingly embodied and executed similar ways to those of the British Empire systems of subjugation. Thus, they have subjected Africans in the continent and elsewhere in the African diaspora. Nyembezi's depiction of Ndebenkulu touches on colonial mimicry by Africans of

their erstwhile colonial masters' years of colonial oppression and the terror of slavery. Thus, examining how this serves as a reminder that it is a symbol of the problem in Africa among the illiterate or semi-literate rural underclasses. Nyembezi also describes mimicry as a form of imitation (aping), where Africans imitate their colonial masters in almost everything from western cultures, religions and acceptance of Western hegemonic systems such as politics and parliamentary systems. This study will be of great importance in a sense that it addresses the issues of the aping and mimicry of the other (white man/ colonial master) by Africans and what could be the motive or intention behind this.

The study will review Chong and Druckman (2013), as they unpack Framing theory. In their work, they thoroughly look into (define) Framing as a theory, in the media and in communication. They argue framing organises everyday reality by providing "meaning to an unfolding strip of events". Chong and Druckman (2013: 109- 110) examine the effects of Framing in communication on individuals and how such framing effects work. Furthermore, Chong and Druckman (2013: 117-118) discuss the productions and strategies of framing. Framing, according to Chong and Druckman (2013: 2), is simply the notion that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. Framing can also refer to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualisation of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue (Chong & Druckman, 2017:2). De Vreese (2005: 52) makes note of three distinct stages of framing which are, Frame building, frame-setting, and individual and societal level consequences of framing. Factors which influence structural qualities of news frames are referred to as frame-building. Thus, frame-building is the framing of issues by journalists and news organisations determined by internal factors within journalism, and to some extent external factors.

In the media sphere, framing would relate to the way one news event is represented differently by various media companies or institutions. This can be in the form of emphasizing certain issues, of reporting on an event over other issues which to some extent lead to the event being distinct, that the audience ends up not knowing and understanding a certain news topic or event. In relation to this study, framing will play a huge role in indicating how the media can frame (hide, code) certain meanings or how the media can subtly (indirectly) distribute a text in a certain manner or perspective. In doing so, producers leave it up to the audience to construct meaning based on what they understand and based on their intellectuality, though there is a primary meaning (message) intended by the producers. In relation to this study, framing theory will assist in observing hidden meanings or rather intended meanings in the deployment of tsotsitaal in post-1994 South African

television. This meaning is framed (hidden) for the audience and coded, thus, leaving it to the audience to cleverly observe.

Molamu (1995) looks at the derivation of the term 'Tsotsitaal' and its popularity amongst South African youth during the 1940s. Molamu (1995) also turns the focus to the languages making up Tsotsitaal, or those which tsotsitaal is derived from, such as Sesotho, Isizulu, other African languages, French, Latin and German, as well as its relationship with American slang. Molamu (1995) also touches on the correlation and merging of tsotsitaal and Afrikaans, which was the result of facilitating employer and employee relations at the coalface of the mining industry. Molamu (1995) further examines the decline of Tsotsitaal, which was as a result of the removal of Sophiatown and Martindale residents to ethnically segregated townships in Soweto. Molamu touches on the birth and rise of tsotsitaal from the 1940s onwards, and its association or adaptation by youth (tsotsis). His perspective on the emergence of Afrikaans syntax in tsotsitaal as a tsotsi (only) language will be of high importance as it will zoom deeper into the reason behind the association of flaaitaal with old, grey haired black masculinities whereas such a language was initially a youth language. This will address the puzzle of what meaning could such representation carry? This is because it seems a form of mimicry of the toxic native Afrikaner masculinity which constantly came into contact with black society during the apartheid era. His work will also be of importance as it will examine the deployment of flaaitaal, which was initially a street language spoken by tsotsis and affiliate it with wealthy, powerful, cruel and old, grey haired black masculinities who are always indoors living lavish lifestyles and dictating what happens on the streets.

Deumert (2017) pays attention to usage of Afrikaans in tsotsitaal and states that this could have broader and deeper unconscious meanings and ideologies such as that of cultural-linguistic appropriation or even parody. Thus, this is where the language of the oppressor is adopted as one's own, turning it upside down in the process. Deumart also looks at the origins of tsotsitaal, its growth and its decline. This work will be of high significance as it aligns with what the study intends to indicate, illustrate and make aware of certain indirect or ideological meanings in relation to the deployment of flaaitaal in post-1994 films, soapies and dramas. Deumert states that various ideologies and unconscious meanings come into play as a result of the adaptation of the oppressor's language. In the case of flaaitaal, this could be a form of turning the language upside down so as to confuse and mimicry the toxic native Afrikaner masculinities. Thus, Deumert's work will be of high importance when looking at how such turning upside down of the oppressor's language, in the form of flaaitaal, could be a form of mimicry of the toxic native Afrikaans speaking masculinity.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework consists of Metrolingualism and Multilingualism as theories applied to the study. Both theories will assist in explaining how we ended up with Tsotsitaal in black townships in the 1940s, and how they both were influential in the birth and rise of tsotsitaal and later flaaitaal. The study will look at how both theories are important and influential to tsotsitaal and other metro-languages in South African townships and urban spaces. Additionally, the study will examine how this has transcended into television as a way of embracing the diverse and multilingual society in South Africa. The study will look first into Multilingualism since it is to a certain extent the cause of Metrolingualism. This is because the presence of many different languages in one setting (multilingualism) in mostly urban spaces leads to a newly formed languages spoken mostly within that designated area or space (Metro-languages).

Multilingualism in the South African context

Multilingualism can be understood in two ways. On the one hand, it is the ability of an individual to speak more than two languages. On the one hand, it is a society or community comprising of more than three languages (spoken) as a result of its inhabitants who are multilingual. Multilingual spaces can also be understood as a society or community where more than three languages are spoken by different linguistic groups who are monolingual, but make up a multilingual society.

This persisted until the influx of individuals from different backgrounds, cultures, and societies into Johannesburg (the city of gold) in search of better work opportunities, mostly in factories, domestic spaces and in the gold mines. As indicated earlier (under the background section), blacks worked in mines, factories, and domestic spaces whereby their employees were whites (Afrikaner and English natives). They lived together in mixed black townships, the most well-known throughout history being Sophiatown. These individuals were in contact on a daily basis as they lived together, and had to familiarise themselves with their master's languages (Afrikaans and English). This played a huge role in leading to a diverse multilingual urban space (along with multilingual speakers) as a result of migration and an influx into urban spaces.

This coming together of people led to individuals associating themselves with others who possessed the same personal traits and way of life. This provided them with some sense of belonging since they

found their mates. One such way of life (culture or culture) was that of the tsotsis. As indicated earlier under the background section, tsotsis were simply unemployed, mostly uneducated youths (mostly males), who lacked a proper upbringings. They were mostly involved in criminal activities, some lavish lifestyles and so on. They even had their own way of communication, as a sense of belonging, which was known as tsotsitaal. Tsotsi gangs, as indicated by Glaser (1992:47), were evident towards the late 1930s.The birth of the language was the result of a multilingual space.

In their work, Otsuji and Pennycook (2018) focus not only on the plurality of language practices on public signage, but aim to understand linguistic plurality in relation to emergent cross-cultural culinary practices in urban space. Multilingualism is simply the everyday language usage in a city, and, thus, describes the use of multilingual resources in urban contexts (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2018:7). Multilingualism can, to a certain extent, be understood as satisfactory competence in different languages. Multilingualism is, thus, the ability of an individual to speak more than two languages within a community. This could be as a result of one having lived in a multilingual society or rather having lived in various places which led to the learning of different languages, thus, being multilingual.

This differs in relation to multilingualism in an urban space (single place) which comprises of the usage various languages as a result of contact between people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In such an instance, multilingualism can lead to the birth of another language. This is where the study focuses on the birth of tsotsitaal and later flaaitaal, and asks what role multilingualism played in this emergence. Multilingualism describes the ways in which people from different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2018:3).

In their work focusing on multilingual competencies, Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005: 200) state that multilingualism should not be understood as the “full competence in different languages”, despite dominant ideologies which emphasize complete facility. Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005: 213) further highlight that multilingualism is not what individuals have or lack, but what the environment, as structured determination and interactional emergence, enables and disables them to deploy. Therefore, multilingual individuals can be declared to have no language in particular environments. Over and above the result of being in a multilingual society, one loses language fluency and full competency as they are required to code switch now and then.

Pavlenko's work focuses on multilingualism in relation to bilingualism, and to some extent mono-lingualism. Pavlenko (2005: 6) indicates that multilingualism stems from what is termed multilingual, which refers to speakers of more than two languages regardless of their society. Such multilingual speakers are said to use or be in contact with two or more languages in their daily lives within their respective societies. Multilingualism will assist us with regards to the birth of tsotsitaal as a whole in an urban setting as a result of people from different backgrounds, cultures and linguistic groups coming together. The birth of tsotsitaal can be traced back in the 1940s in the black township of Sophiatown, where people of various cultures and linguistic groups came together (lived together in one place). Multilingualism will also play a huge role in explaining and illustrating how flaaitaal originated (as means of communication between blacks and Afrikaners in the workplace) and later became a language of tsotsis who believed they were superior to other tsotsis who could only speak iscamtho, and couldn't speak flaaitaal.

In general, multilingualism will help us see the importance of how coming together of people from different linguistic groups can lead to the birth of a new language which will be used as a lingua franca (language of communication) so as to make communication effective, and allow its members to understand one another. An example of this could be that of the so-called metro-languages which are spoken in urban spaces as a result of the coming together of people from different linguistic groups. Examples include Sepetori, amongst many others.

Metrolingualism

The term metrolingualism originally developed from the extending notion of metro-ethnicity, to refer to creative linguistic conditions across space and borders of culture, history, and politics, as a way to move beyond current terms such as metrolingualism and multiculturalism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2018:3). Metrolingualism describes the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2018:3). Thus, rather than assuming connections between language and culture, ethnicity, nationality or geography, metrolingualism seeks to explore how such relations are produced, resisted, defied, or rearranged since its focus is not on language systems but on languages as emergent from contexts of interaction. Metrolingualism is simply the everyday language usage in the city, and, thus, describes the use of multilingual resources in urban contexts (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2018:7). Metrolingualism is not only about the use of linguistic resources from different languages, but may equally describe the

harmonising practices of adjustment within codes, as well as certain forms of styling (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2018:7).

Metrolingualism results from the increasing mobility of people, artefacts, languages, and ideas across borders. In addition, it emerged from the introducing and bringing of different cultural, social and language ideologies (and practices) by people, to their everyday interactions (Nakane, Otsuji & Armour, 2015: 101). Nakane, Otsuji & Armour (2015:102) indicate that metrolingualism is more concerned with how the city refashions urban language users and this, in turn, remakes the city. This is evident in the way the city and everyday language practices and users co-constitute each other. Thus, the interest of metrolingualism is the connectivity and mobility of people along with their language practices, rather than on mapping and fixing the languages of the city or on the people.

Metrolingualismresults from or leads to denaturalising of standardised languages formal languages and making them a mixture of informal languages. This is practiced in an urban space (context) in order to meet the needs of that particular society linguistically. In addition, it acts as a Lingua-Franca in that particular urban context, due to the multiplicity and merging of various different languages and cultures. Thus, metrolingualism is the result of multilingualism in the urban context, whereby multiple languages are negotiated for communication and competence doesn't consist of separate competencies for each language, but a multicompetence that functions symbiotically for different languages in one's repertoire. Metrolingualism will be applied to demonstrate the use of tsotsitaal in the soapy, film and drama referred to, and its assignation to the characters chosen. The study will also apply the theory of metrolingualism to illustrate, investigate and explain the birth of Afrikaans syntax in tsotsitaal and, most of all, why metrolingualism is an important theory in explaining the birth of a lingua-Franca, pidgin or a new language which could be used as a medium of communication. The birth of flaaitaal was the result of the merging of various different linguistic groups in one setting (urban space), mainly Blacks and Whites (Afrikaners). Thus, a mixture of African languages and Afrikaans were used as a form of communication. Metrolingualism will help us understand the presence of flaaitaal in tsotsitaal (its birth) and how it began to be a form of lingua-Franca amongst Blacks and Whites in townships and cities, and also how flaaitaal was adopted by tsotsis and formed part of tsotsitaal syntax known as flaaitaal.

The presence of the Afrikaans base in tsotsitaal can be derived principally from a brand of Afrikaans which was spoken mainly by black domestic workers and at the coalface of the mining industry, so as to facilitate employer and employee relations (Molamu, 1995:144). On the one hand, Hurst (2008:20)

indicates that the presence of Afrikaans content in tsotsitaal was the result of the pidginised version of Afrikaans which originated in domestic employment and by a brand of Afrikaans which was spoken by black domestic workers. Thus, the birth of the Afrikaans base in tsotsitaal has its traces in settings (private and public) were Blacks and Whites merged and lived together on a daily basis. Metrolingualism will help us understand the various possible factors which could have led to the birth of flaaitaal in an urban setting as a result of various people from different linguistic groups coming together.

Methodology

The methodology section discusses the methods applied in this study. The study employed a Critical Discourse Analysis, which is a qualitative research method. Content analysis, in the form of visual analysis, was applied as the the method for data analysis. Purposive sampling was used to select episodes and scenes from *Yizo Yizo (1999)*, *Isidingo (1998)* and *iNumber Number (2014)*.

Research design and Methodology

The data analysis tool employed in this study was Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice. It holds and argues that social and linguistic practices constitute one another. According to Mullet (2018), CDA is a qualitative analytical approach for critically describing, interpreting and explaining the ways in which discourses construct, maintain, and legitimise social inequalities. Therefore, CDA rests on the notion that the way we use language is purposeful, regardless of whether discursive choices are conscious or unconscious. The main focus of CDA is investigating the way societal power relations are established and reinforced through language use, and highlighting the exploitation and structural inequalities within the media, education and so on.

Rationale for employing qualitative methodology

Qualitative research is used to understand how people experience the world, people's beliefs, attitudes, behaviour and interactions (Pathak, Jena & Karla, 2013). While there are many approaches to qualitative research, they tend to be flexible and focus on retaining rich meaning when interpreting data. This qualitative research aims to gather the in-depth meaning and understanding of the

representation of black masculinities in *Yizo Yizo (1999), Isidingo (1998)* and *iNumber Number (2013),* as it allows for a broad open-ended approach to finding meaning. Qualitative research does this by asking why and how with regards to the research topic. The research is exploratory, meaning that it provides insight into a particular topic or issue, and it is research that is conducted because a problem has not been clearly defined. Distinct from that of quantitative research, which is the process of collecting and analysing numerical data. Compared to qualitative research, quantitative research can be used to find patterns and averages, make predictions, test causal relationships, and generalise results to wider populations (Bhandari, 2020). Quantitative research is the opposite of qualitative research, which involves collecting and analysing non-numerical data.

Data collection methods

Purposive sampling, also known as judgmental, selective or subjective sampling, will be employed as the data collection method. Purposive sampling is a form of non-probability sampling in which researchers rely on their own judgment when choosing members of the population to participate in their research. Though this could be the most cost-effective and time-effective sampling methods available, it is also subject to errors in judgment by the researcher, low levels of reliability and high levels of bias.

Episodes and scenes of flaaitaal and iscamtho speaking characters were selected from *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999)* and *iNumber Number (2013).* These episodes and scenes were analysed in order to address the issues raised by the study in relation to the representation of black masculinities in post-1994 South African television. The study analysed each soapy, drama and film in the form of watching various episodes. Approximately between four and six episodes (scenarios) will be applied for *Isidingo* (1998) and *Yizo Yizo (1999)*. In relation to *iNumber Number (2013)*, the film will be watched with particular scenes being selected for analysis.

Data analysis method: Content analysis (Visual Analysis)

Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words, themes, or concepts within a given qualitative data set (i.e., text). Using content analysis, researchers can analyse the presence, meanings and relationships of certain words, themes, or concepts. Content analysis deals with the investigation of mass media's representation of social issues, and how these representations confirm certain hypotheses (expectations/norms) regarding those represented in the

data (Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001: 2). This hypotheses looks at how a particular language, gender, race, age group, class, and so on is usually depicted in/by the mass media which then creates a universal stereotyping as a result of its continuous use in relation to racial and linguistic groups. A typical example is that of how women are represented in the mass media as people in domestic spaces, subjects of men, people of fashion and so forth. Another example is the way certain roles in prime-time television soapies and dramas are associated with certain genders and racial (linguistic) groups. Such generalized images or constructs involve implicit or explicit classification and quantification of media-circulated content.

Content analysis, according to Krippendorf (2013:10), entails a systematic reading of a body of texts, images, and symbolic matter, not necessarily from an author or user's perspective. Content analysis in practise means dividing up various plausible sub-components of an issue featured in the text to be studied, labelling them into categories, and then studying the media in question over a set period of time to count how many times the issue and its sub-components emerged (Donwing &Husband, 2005:27). As result, Donwing and Husband (2005:27) indicate that it to establish certain contours of coverage of a given subject, whether ethnicity or anything else. An example would be that of how some media outlets frequently cover stories related to the nature of the event, and leave out other stories pertaining to the same event. In short, content analysis is a systematic, observational method used for testing hypotheses about the ways in which the media represents people, events, situations and so on.

Content analysis will be beneficial and of relevance to the study as it deals with the critical observation of how the mass media has strategic ways of representing people, events, and situations and so on. Such representations are relative to the reality of what's being represented and to some extent leads to stereotyping and universal facts regarding that which is represented in the mass media. In relation to my Study, content analysis will assist in analysing how flaaitaal, which includes high syntax of Afrikaans, is associated with Black masculinities who are economically well-off, greedy, oppressive, aggressive, bullish, dictators and so on. Thus, what hypotheses and norms (stereotypes) could such representations entail regarding Black masculinities and flaaitaal?

The study will analyse the usage of flaaitaal by particular characters by looking at how and when flaaitaal is applied, how this can be a form of mimicry of the white male Afrikaner identity, and a recast (remake) of South African racial politics. My study will focus more on the context in which flaaitaal is applied by the characters. Specifically look at whether it is a happy, friendly moment (atmosphere) for

everyone or an unhealthy atmosphere (oppressor VS oppressed), and what meaning could be extrapolated from this. Over and above this, content analysis will be influential as it deals with the way the mass media's representation of certain people, events, and situations could, to a certain extent, lead to stereotyping and expectations from those represented.

This L-Tido featuring AKA music video still clips as explained in chapter 2 pages 49-50, is an example of content analysis illustrating how the mass media can indirectly, ideologically, strategically and cleverly send a message to the audience in the form of images and language. Messages sent could relate to a particular tribe, society, linguistic group, event, or so on. Such messages could be historical or stereotyped facts or norms regarding certain people or events. The example illustrated in the video consists of the stereotyping (fixating) of Zulu and Afrikaner people, their languages, and also the youth of post-1994 South Africa.

In this video there is a representation of three linguistic groups, namely Afrikaans (flaaitaal), Zulu, and language of the post-1994 South African township (urban) youth. When speaking Afrikaans (flaaitaal), Israel Makwe becomes bossy, bullies, dictator-like, and rough towards AKA (rapper) and L-Tido, who both seem to be afraid of him and they do as he wishes. As a result,, one can conclude that the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity is aggressive, wild, violent, bossy, a bully, dictator, and so on. This is as a result of what is ideologically, strategically and indirectly represented in the video in the form of the deployment of Afrikaans.

The tone and messages drastically change as Israel Makwe code–switches to Zulu, whereby he scolds AKA and L-Tido and orders them to take his taxi, go rank (work) and stop basking in the sun all day. He also warns them not to dare steal his money. It is no surprise that Zulu natives are dominant in the South African taxi industry and that they can be very cruel if you steal from them, especially if you steal their way of life or form of wealth - the taxis. This representation speaks volumes though the messages are not clear and direct, they require effort and familiarity with that which is being represented. Thus, it is as a result of this that stereotyping is instilled and emphasized in relation to certain societies, tribes, people and their language. Making meaning out of the AKA and L-Tido characters, the masculine youth of post-1994 South Africa, one would conclude that they represent that post-apartheid masculine youth which is lazy, jobless, and good at nothing but basking in the sun, being involved in criminal activities, love women, and are uneducated.

Conclusion

Chapter one provided a brief discussion of the study, content and structure, and what the reader should expect throughout the study. The history of tsotsitaal was discussed, so as to make it relative to the reader to understand the birth, growth and expansion of tsotsitaal. The growth and exapansion of tsostitaal witnessed it being deployed within the media in post-1994 South Africa, more especially television. The argument raised by the study as a result of the observation based on the representation of tsotsitaal speaking black masculine identities was also discussed. The rationale in the study will compare all works of tsotsitaal more especially in the media and how they all relate to the current (this study) study, and the gaps which will be filled by the current study. The research questions as discussed earlier on will assist in responding to the concerns raised by the study and the observations which were observed. The history of filmmaking in South Africa was also discussed in order to assist the reader with the history, environment, politics and discrimination within the South African media and how such has shaped or played a huge role in the nature of post-1994 South African media. Black masculity and black middleclass-ness as theories were looked into as a way of understanding the negative representation of black masculinities in the media and where all such stems from.The qualitative research method was applied in this study. Purposive sampling was applied in order to acquire the sample for analysis and data collection. Critical Discourse Analysis provided the tools for analysing the representation of tsotsitaal speaking black masculine identities and interrogating the texts pertaining to issues about such representation.

Chapter 2 : Tsotsitaal in the media, where and how it all began

Introduction

Television only began to reflect multilingual use in its programming in post-1994 South Africa. This was contrary to the practices of the 1980s, in which standardised forms of language were strictly adhered to. It was during this period that the gradual emergence and deployment of tsotsitaal in South African television soapies, dramas and films was evident. Before 1994, television dramas such as *Lesilo Rula* (1987), amongst many others, deployed only standardised forms of South African indigenous languages. Even when set in contexts that were multilingual, television dramas were strictly in

monolingual indigenous languages and it was inconceivable to offer tsotsitaal a platform of expression.

In its deployment in South African soapies, dramas and films, it was observed that tsotsitaal speaking characters were associated with negative black masculinities and being a menace to society. This conforms to the tradition of the earlier scholarship that focused on tsotsitaal as an urban delinquent youth linguistic variety. Tsotsitaal was initially classified as a gangster language spoken mostly by the youth in black-dominant townships and urban spaces. This is the result of tsotsitaal being associated with and spoken by urban youths. The two varieties or syntaxes of tsotsitaal are that of flaaitaal and Iscamtho.

Flaaitaal and Iscamtho

Flaaitaal is an Afrikaans-dominated syntax of tsotsitaal, whereas iscamtho is an African languages (mostly Zulu and Sotho) dominated syntax. There are, however, a few newly formed non-Zulu and Sesotho vocabularies and words such as 'zwakala'/'zwigila' (come), amongst others. Iscamtho emerges from a slang called Shalambombo, and draws its speech community from squatter communities of Pimville, Orlando, the Eastern Native Township, and the Moroka Emergency Camp (Ntshangase, 2002:408). Thus, iscamtho was formed in strictly black dominant multilingual societies (townships and urban spaces), mainly by the youth as a way of communicating. Its roots do not go beyond the boundaries of black societies, for example white dominant societies such as towns, suburbs and so on.

Flaaitaal, on the other hand, emerged and draws its speech community from the freehold, coloured and black populated townships of the Western Areas of Johannesburg, such as Sophiatown, Martindale, Westdene, and so on. Flaaitaal also has its reference from domestic spaces where blacks, especially women, came into contact with Afrikaners since they worked for Afrikaners in domestic spaces. This included in areas and surrounding suburbs such as Vrededorp (Fietas), Melville, Brixton, Montgomery Park, Randburg, and so on (Molamu, 1995: 144). Just to provide a hint of how these two syntaxes of tsotsitaal differ, the study will provide examples in English and then provide (translate) the same sentence in iscamtho ,flaaitaal, Afrikaans, Sesotho and IsiZulu.

English: are you ok (fine)?
Afrikaans: As jy reg?

Iscamtho: ugrand/mnandi nja yam?

Flaaitaal: As jy ncaa my autie?

IsiZulu: (Wena) ukahle kodwa?

Sesotho: (Wena) o hantleh?

Sentence 2:

English: You, come here.

Afrikaans: Jy, kom hier.

Iscamtho: Wena, zwakala hier/hierso.

Flaaitaal: Jy, kom hier.

IsiZulu : Wena, woza la.

Sesotho: Wena, tloho mona.

The above sentences provide a sense of the distinction between iscamtho and flaaitaal, though these two varieties interchange and borrow one another's vocabulary at times. The aim of the above sentences was to highlight the dominance and presence, in most cases, of Afrikaans terminology in flaaitaal and it's seldom appearance in iscamtho, which is a Zulu and Sesotho dominant variety. We ought to also note that both IsiZulu and Sesotho examples above are standardized forms of both languages and which are seldomly spoken in urban spaces. In townships and urban spaces in most cases people apply quite different syntaxes of Sesotho and IsiZulu which are relative to them and distinct from that spoken in rural areas or by native speakers; a typical example is of flaaitaal versus that of Afrikaans, or coloureds versus native Afrikaners, when it comes to speaking Afrikaans. One will, in most cases, be able to relate with coloured people when speaking Afrkaans as compared to when native Afrikaners are speaking.To sum up, the vocabulary of flaaitaal is dominated by Afrikaans vocabulary whereas iscamtho' s vocabulary is dominated by isiZulu and seSotho languages. That's all that differentiate such syntaxes, except how they originated. Nonetheless, this chapter argues that, even though Iscamtho speaking characters embody negative black masculinities, they are also depicted as lower in status, in terms of class and aspiration for social and economic mobility, than Flaaitaal speaking black masculinities who are portrayed as economically powerful, oppressive, mafias and dictators.

The use of Flaaitaal versus the that of Iscamtho

The argument of this chapter holds that even though Iscamtho speaking characters embody negative black masculinities, as compared to flaaitaal speaking black masculinities are portrayed as economically powerful, oppressive, mafias, cruel and dictators they are further depicted as lower in status, in terms of class and aspiration for social and economic mobility. In the case of *Isidingo*, the study will specifically look into the way flaaitaal speaking characters such as Papa G resemble and reflect the character and mannerisms of ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identities. These identities formed part of the apartheid regime or were architects of the regime, mainly as a result of their behaviour and mannerisms towards others; and as a result of the language associated with this identity, which is strongly related to that of the Afrikaans language.

As indicated previously, language plays a huge role in defining individuals. This is evident in the association of flaaitaal, an Afrikaans generic street language, with black masculine identities which could simply be a reflection of the alibi for colonialism. Colonial alibi is derived from Colonial Discourse Theory, which looks at the association and adaptation of language by colonial subjects that serves as an ideological alibi for colonialism. The adaptation and association of Afrikaans dominant tsotsitaal syntax by old, grey-haired black masculine identities serves as a typical example of a colonial subject who serves as an ideological alibi for colonialism. The adaption and association of flaaitaal by old, grey-haired black masculine identities serves as atypical example of a black masculine identity who simply represents that of the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity, especially that of the apartheid regime.

Initially, tsotsitaal was mainly used by a group of individuals known as tsotsis (criminals) as a means of communication amongst themselves, thus, excluding those who were not of their type or social group, as they could not easily relate with the language, which carried volumes of valuable messages (content), style, life-style, loyalty, sense of belonging and so on. The origins of tsotsitaal dates back to the 1940s in black townships such as Sophiatown, as also indicated by Hurst (2008:11), who states that tsotsitaal is a language which was first observed in Sophiatown in the 1940s, and was mainly spoken in black townships. Molamu (1995:144) indicates that the term tsotsitaal is derived from two words, 'tsotsi' and 'taal', with tsotsi meaning criminal and describes a style of black males who wore narrow bottomed trousers which became particularly popular amongst the black urban youth during the 1940s. Taal is an Afrikaans term meaning language, thus defining tsotsitaal as the language of criminals (Molamu, 1995:144). Tsotsitaal is drawn from Afrikaans, Nguni languages (IsiZulu and Xhosa) and Sotho language groups (Setswana and Sesotho). It also consists of a vocabulary borrowed from

French, English, Latin, German, and also some American slang (Molamu, 1995:144). Tsotsitaal was initially and originally a language of the young urban youths who were termed or known as 'tsotsis'.

Molamu (1995: 144) further notes that, to some extent, flaaitaal has its reference from the domestic spaces where blacks (especially women) came into contact with Afrikaners since blacks worked for Afrikaners, mainly in Afrikaner dominant areas and surrounding suburbs. Such areas include, Vrededorp (Fietas), Melville, Brixton, Montgomery Park, Randburg, amongst many other suburbs (as indicated in Maps 1 and 2, page 20). Such white areas (Afrikaner and White populated areas) surrounded Sophiatown and thus were sources or means of employment amongst the Sophiatown residents (mainly Blacks), especially people who specialized in the domestic spaces (garden boys, cleaners, and various other forms of domestic work). It is also worth noting that women are specialists within the domestic workspace and are dominant to a certain extent, as compared to men.

The tsotsi community consisted of corner-street delinquent teenagers who lacked proper upbringing and socialization (Msimang, 1987:82). These youths turned into tsotsis as a result of being orphans, illegitimate youths, and as a result of not being fully equipped educationally and thus not being fully-literate, and lacking in professional skills (Msimang, 1987:82). As a result, tsotsitaal and the tsotsi culture became popular amongst the black youths of urban South Africa during the 1940s and the 1960s. Throughout the 1940s and 1960s, gangsters were seen by many youths as prestigious actors of urban life as some became politically conscious and positioned themselves as enemies of apartheid police by fighting the system. They were also considered enigmas as they gained economic access through illegal activities (Aycard, 2010:60). Due to the influx of people from different cultures and backgrounds as well as contact of black people with Afrikaners and coloured's in urban spaces, the Afrikaans syntax within the Tsotsitaal language was brought to existence.

Such influx into urban spaces of South Africa led to the rise of an urban generation of blacks who needed employment, since black labour force was absolutely essential for economic growth. To maintain or facilitate employer and employee relations, between black workers and white employees, a form of pidginized Afrikaans was adopted as a form of communication between the two parties, and this is how Afrikaans was adopted in black communities and featured in Tsotsitaal. Consequently, the presence of Afrikaans or its base in tsotsitaal can be derived from a band of Afrikaans which was spoken mainly by black domestic workers and workers at the coalface of the mining industry, which was used to facilitate employer and employee relations (Molamu, 1995: 144). Tsotsitaal was later

termed Kombuistaal or kitchen language as a result of its usage in domestic places by black domestic workers and their white employers.

The familiarity of Afrikaans amongst blacks, led to the adaptation of Afrikaans by tsotsis known as Flaaitaal. Flaaitaal originated as a type of proto-pidgin, fashioned by expediency to lay the foundation for new communication systems (Sankoff, Mayernoff, & Nagy, 2008: 98). Tsotsis adopted Afrikaans and those who spoke the Afrikaans base tsotsitaal were classified as clever, modern and civilized urban tsotsis, whereas the ones who did not know or speak the Afrikaans syntax tsotsitaal were simply classified as "'moegoes'' or rural boys. Hurst (2008:21) further goes on to indicate that Flaaitaal had more to do with the rejecting of the old-fashioned rural identities and adapting to the idolized urban identities and thus saw the emergence of terms such as ''authie'' and ''clever'' for urbanite males who spoke flaaitaal and ''moegoe'' or ''dzao'' for those who didn't speak flaaitaal. As a result, Flaaitaal was a language spoken, mostly, by gangsters and thugs due to the dominance of the Afrikaans syntax in tsotsitaal.

Afrikaans held some form of symbolic power amongst the tsotsis of 1940s and 19760s, in black townships. Hurst (2008:21) states that the Afrikaans base of tsotsitaal in Sophiatown held symbolic power for its speakers as a result of the dominant status of white Afrikaners. The above is evident in *Isidingo (1998)*, *iNumber Number (2013)* and *Yizo Yizo (1999),* where flaaitaal speaking individuals are depicted as those who are powerful (strategically, financially) and those who are about the fancy and flashy lifestyle. On the other hand, the flaaitaal non-speaking characters are depicted as those who are backwards and inferior to the flaaitaal speaking characters.

Flaaitaal was popular amongst tsotsis as a result of the high profile and status of the Afrikaans back then (during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s). However, Deumert (2017: 5) indicates that such usage of Afrikaans base in tsotsitaal is better understood as a form of cultural-linguistic appropriation or even parody, thus taking the language of the powerful oppressors and making it one's own, and turning it upside down in the process. It was until the 1950s which saw the interruption of tsotsitaal speech community as a result of the implementation of the Land Areas Act of 1950. The removal of Sophiatown and Martindale residents to ethnically segregated townships in Soweto, as a result of the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950, led to a partial disintegration of Tsotsitaal speech community (Molamu, 1995:154).

The emergence and birth of Flaaitaal was not solely aided by the coloureds (youths and gangsters who came into close contact with blacks) per se, but also that of the kombuis (domestic workers) and factory workers story (tale). Flaaitaal thus was adopted by the young (youthful) black masculine identities who classified themselves as gangsters, more especially the street-wise, modernized and civilized gangsters. Coloureds, to the study's own understanding, did not much follow and speak the real flaaitaal but had and still have their own unstandardized, informal, and tsotsi-fied, slang version of a language spoken mostly by the coloured youths. An example of such language (coloured youth language) is that of ''Kaaps Afrikaans''spoken mostly in/at the Cape flats and Coloured populated areas (townships) in the Western Cape.

Contextualising hatred and race-based contempt in South Africa

This subsection considers a series of legislative pieces that were laid down by the apartheid regime. This legislation gave legitimacy to the racial bigotry that was displayed by white racists. The appropriation of these racist attitudes by Africans for various reasons has gone to shape the behaviours of certain Africans and in turn displayed them to those less fortunate than themselves. The first policy was a concept known as Total Strategy.

The Total Strategy

Total Strategy was a two-handed strategy of reform accompanied by unprecedented repression adopted by Pieter Willem Botha in 1978 as a result of realising the days of old-style apartheid were over (BillMari, 2019). This strategy was adopted as a result of the so called 'Total Onslaught' from inside and outside South Africa, which was believed to be a specifically communist plot to overthrow white rule in South Africa. There were four critical and interrelated changes required by the Total Strategy which included the streamlining of apartheid; strengthening of the military; supporting business and bringing it into partnership; and creating a new regional policy (BillMari, 2019). The Total Strategy encompassed the state, commerce, economy, diplomacy, industry, private sector, and various other organisations. It also witnessed the coordination (control and monopolisation) of these power bases by the new national security management with the supervision of the State Security Council (BillMari, 2019). Briefly, the Total Strategy was a strategy deployed by the White Apartheid government in order to ease pressure from internal forces and the international community which was a significant threat to Apartheid and white power.

Killing of Anti-Apartheid civilians, activists and politicians

The Apartheid government had no space for any anti-apartheid individual, body, institution, organisation or community. Thus, if one failed to abide by the apartheid laws and way of life, they were deemed a threat to apartheid and white Afrikaner rule. This led to a very unpleasant response (retaliation) by the apartheid government. Such a response included deploying and ordering the Apartheid police, defence force and various other agents to take control of situations or individuals who were getting out of control, either by disciplining, destroying, or killing them.

This has led to clever observation linking flaaitaal as a reflection of the stereotypical identity of an ordinary white Afrikaner masculine identity (and Afrikaans), and the mafia-type apartheid architects who always called the shots behind the scenes. To elaborate and clarify such a claim, we will refer and look into the main architects and drivers of the apartheid regime and how they indirectly sent and assigned messengers and agents to fulfil their mandates. The mandates included the killing of anti-apartheid civilians, activists and politicians. These were old, grey-haired native Afrikaner masculine identities who operated behind the scenes (offices, in their homes, etc.) and not in the battlefield. To some extent, I'd regard them as what is termed 'tsotsis in suits', as the deeds and strategies they applied in terms of ruling the country led to the perception of ordinary white Afrikaners (especially masculine identities) as societal ills and those who are cruel, oppressive, dictators, mafias and greedy.

There are quite a few reasons why the old, grey-haired native Afrikaner masculine identities, that formed part of the South African Apartheid parliament and government, are to a certain extent connected with the old, grey-haired flaaitaal speaking black masculine identities in post-1994 South African television. This cohort of white Afrikaner masculine identities are, to a certain extent, the main orchestrators of the 'Total Strategy', killing and arresting anti-apartheid political activists. This included the oppression of non-whites during apartheid. One of the cruel strategies used was the deployment of Wouter Basson, also known to many as 'Dr Death'. All of the above sums up the kind of people the old, grey-haired white Afrikaner masculine identities that formed part of the apartheid government and parliament. This subsection will provide further detail of the above-mentioned instances (events) orchestrated by the apartheid government and indicate the link and relationship between them and post-1994 flaaitaal speaking black masculine identities in South African television.

Throughout history, apartheid will always be remembered for its cruel treatment of non-whites by the white Afrikaner apartheid government and mostly for the killings of innocent civil servants and that of

anti-apartheid political activists and politicians, both in South African and in exile. The list of anti-apartheid activists killed by the apartheid government, with the help of the police and scientists, include that of Ruth First who was assassinated in Mozambique on the 17th of August 1982 by a parcel bomb believed to have been built by the South African police (Wieder, 2013). One other anti-apartheid activist killed by the apartheid government was that of Steve Biko.

Biko was ideologically an African nationalist, anti-apartheid activist, African socialist and the founder of the Black Consciousness Movement who was beaten to death by state officials. This followed his arrest on the 18th August 1977 at a roadblock near Grahamstown for having violated the order restricting him to King William's Town (Woods, 1978). Biko's Black Consciousness Movement was regarded a threat in 1973, as a response the apartheid government placed a banning order on Biko which prevented him from leaving King William's Town, prohibited him from speaking in public or to more than one person, barred his membership of political organisations, and forbade the media from quoting him (Woods, 1978). The list of anti-apartheid activists and politicians executed by the apartheid regime is endless as some activists who went into exile have vanished and were never heard of. Other well-known anti-apartheid activists and politicians include that of Frederick John Harris, Rick Turner, Solomon Mahlangu, Neil Aggett, David Webster, and David Sibeko, amongst many others.

The oppression and segregation of blacks

The nature and ultimate aim of the Apartheid regime was to discriminate and oppress non-whites and segregate them from whites. White Afrikaners were given first preference when it came to privilege and power. Throughout the world, most people could simply define apartheid as the system which discriminated and oppressed non-whites and segregated them from whites. Events, activities and instances which saw the oppression, segregation and discrimination of non-whites include that The Bantu Education Act, The Population Registration Act, Group Areas Act, and The Pass Laws Act, amongst various other acts and laws. Some of these will be discussed in more detail below.

The Bantu Education Act

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 denied blacks the opportunity to receive higher education. In addition, Afrikaans was required as a language of learning and teaching in all black schools (Evalds, 1978). Furthermore, schools reserved for whites were of western and world class standards, whereas those reserved for blacks were low in standard. Thirty percent of black schools did not have electricity,

and 25% did not have running water (Clark & Worger, 2004). Black teachers' salaries in 1953 were very low when compared to white teacher's salaries, and the apartheid government's expenditure on black education was one-tenth of the expenditure on white education (Clark & Worger, 2004).

The Population Registration Act

The Population Registration Act of 1950 required people to be identified and registered from birth as one of four distinct groups: white, coloured, Bantu or other, where race was then reflected in the individual's identity number (Evans, 2009).Such an Act was typified by humiliating tests which determined race through perceived linguistic and physical characteristics. These included skin colour, facial features, a person's hair, home language and knowledge of Afrikaans, amongst many other tests (Evans, 2009).

The Group Areas Act

The Group Areas Act of 1950 set out a tone of racial segregation. Such an act was applicable for members of all racial groups and provided for the imposition of control over the ownership and occupation of land and buildings throughout South Africa. In practice, this meant that all white, black, coloured and Asian people in South Africa would have to live in group areas allocated to members of their groups, where their ownership of property and business rights would be confined to those areas (Evans, 2009). This also meant that many people had to move out of homes they had lived in for years and live in a strange place which they knew little or nothing about. Evans (2009) states that through this Act, many blacks in South Africa were removed from urban areas especially in the Transvaal and Johannesburg regions, were they found work as miners. The rationale for this Act presented by the government of the day was that a growing black proletariat in these urban areas could pose a threat to the government because in these urban areas blacks gained a higher standard of living and higher education (Evans, 2009).

The Pass Law

The Pass Laws Act of 1952 required black South Africans over the age of 16 to carry a passbook, known as a dompas, everywhere and at all times. The dompas was similar to a passport, but it contained more pages filled with more extensive information than a normal passport. Within the pages of an

individual's dompas was their fingerprints, photograph, personal details of employment, permission from the government to be in a particular part of the country, qualifications to work or seek work in the area, and an employer's reports on worker performance and behaviour. If a worker displeased their employer and they, in turn, declined to endorse the book for the pertinent period, the worker's right to stay in the area was jeopardized. According to the Pass Law, government officials possessed the power to expel a worker from the area by adverse endorsement in the passbook (Evans, 2009). This technique was known as 'endorsing out' and could be carried out at any time the and for any reason. Officials were not required to provide an explanation for their actions. Family members of a worker who was 'endorsed out' also forfeited their right to remain in the area and faced eviction and exile to a Bantustan. Forgetting to carry the dompas, misplacing it, or having it stolen rendered one liable to arrest and imprisonment. Each year, over 250,000 blacks were arrested for technical offenses under the Pass Laws (Evans, 2009). As a result, the dompas became the most despised symbol of apartheid.

The above events and laws were imposed by the apartheid era government which consisted of old, grey-haired Afrikaner masculine identities. These old Afrikaner masculine identities possessed and typified the oppressor, bully and mafia type characteristics as they would go do anything to anyone who was anti-apartheid or an opponent of the apartheid regime. This included killing, threatening, banning, arresting, destroying and so on any individual, group or institution that was deemed a threat to the apartheid regime, through their special agents or the South African Defence and Police forces. The apartheid regime government controlled, centralised and monopolised almost every aspect from individuals to institutions. They managed to control and adjust human beings by monitoring, restricting and dictating their movement and way of life. This was achieved by imposing laws and acts amongst many other strategies for dealing with what they deemed as their enemy or any threat to the apartheid regime. To illustrate the level of cruelty of these old, grey-haired men, we look at one of their greatest agents and lethal weapon. This is Wouter Basson, also known as Dr Death.

Wouter Basson: The apartheid regime’s lethal weapon

Wouter Basson, a respected young cardiologist and personal physician of P.W Botha, was recruited by the Surgeon General and head of South African Medical Services (SAMS), Major General Nieuwoudt, in May 1981. Basson was assigned the position of Project Coast Director, as well as a specialist advisor to the Surgeon General (Burgess and Purkitt, 2001:16-18). He was tasked to develop Project Coast by a cabinet which composed the Minister of Defense (Malan), SADC Chief (Gen. C. Viljoen), the

commanding Officer of Strategic Intelligence and Special Forces (Gen.K.Liebenberg),SAP Commissioner (van der Merwe), and the Director General of the National Intelligence Service (NIS). Basson was placed in charge of managing all aspects of Project Coast, including defensive and offensive measures (Burgess and Purkitt, 2001: 18)

Basson was referred to and well-known as Dr Death as a result of his deeds, which included that of punishing anti-apartheid activists. He was also responsible for the use of Chemical Biological Weapons, a principle of the Project Coast, used to destroy many anti-apartheid individuals, mostly activists in exile and those within South Africa. In November 1983, Basson was allegedly involved in the use of Chemical Biological Weapons against regime opponents in Dukuduku, Kwa-Zulu Natal, where he instructed South African agents to tie their intended victims to trees and smear a jell-like ointment on their bodies. When this failed, they were told to kill them (Burgess and Purkitt, 2001:23). The regime opponents were allegedly injected with an anaesthetic drug and then a muscle relaxant, and after they had died their bodies were thrown into the sea (Burgess and Purkitt, 2001:23).

In 1985, four SWAPO detainees held at Reconnaissance Regiment headquarters were allegedly given a sleeping drug in their soft drinks, taken to Lanseria airport outside Johannesburg and injected with three toxic substances supplied by Basson. Their bodies were then thrown into the Atlantic Ocean (Burgess and Purkitt, 2001:23). In 1986, Basson is also alleged to have supplied poisoned tea that killed specialforces member Lance Corporal Victor de Fonseca in a military hospital in Pretoria (Burgess and Purkitt, 2001:23). There were many instances of Basson's involvement in the usage and instruction of agents to use Chemical Biological Weapons, especially with opponents of the apartheid regime who were in exile. This included the planting of a bomb or a deadly body chemical in a letter, and poisoned body chemical clothes sent to regime opponents in exile.

These acts had particular effects on the repertoires and grammar of the users of the Afrikaans-based syntax of tsotsitaal. Observers of these apartheid legislators and architects absorbed some of these impressions and style, unfortunately picking up on the most toxic of these white Afrikaner masculinities. In time, black masculinities have styled themselves on this, and their attributes coalesced with the way black men are constructed in film generally. This has led to stereotypes associated with black men. Although Papa G and his bodyguard in *Isidingo* are harassing a white woman (Angelique), we ought to bear in mind that anyone who was an opponent of the apartheid regime was deemed a threat and dealt with, so is Angelique. Angelique had all the answers and solution to Papa G's problems and, thus, was forced to cooperate or something bad would happen to

her. Lest we forget about the story of Ruth First and various other non-black apartheid regime opponents who were dealt with by the apartheid regime drivers and architects as they failed to cooperate. The portrayal and representation of flaaitaal speaking black masculine identities in post-1994 soapies, as in the case of *Isidingo (1998)*, resonates with that of the old, grey-haired white Afrikaner masculine identities who formed part of the architecture of the apartheid regime.

There are numerous interesting commonalties amongst the two types of masculine identities. This subsection seeks to highlight those between flaaitaal speaking black masculine identities in *Isidingo* and white Afrikaner masculine identity of the apartheid era and to what extent the representation of flaaitaal speaking characters is an indirect and ideological reflection of ordinary native (toxic) Afrikaner masculine identity. The commonalities and attributes shared by these two types of masculinities are that of being economically powerful, being bossy and bullies, cruel, greedy, have power and influence, and, most importantly, the Afrikaans and flaaitaal (Afrikaans syntax of tsotsitaal) language.

One other factor which flaaitaal speaking black masculine identities share with the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identities is that they are peers, since the apartheid government consisted of grown and old, grey-haired native Afrikaner masculine identities. What most people hardly notice is how flaaitaal speaking black masculinities in post-1994 South African television soapies are unappreciated, unwanted, isolated, outnumbered, always trying to force their way into people's lives and trying to preserve themselves and their language but are struggling to do so. Most people distance themselves from them as they are viewed as societal ills and old, grey-haired masculine identities associated with a language foreign to all characters. Similarly, Afrikaans as a language has lost its power and most people have distanced themselves from it, and also how it has been viewed as the language of the oppressors. Most importantly, is the power and authority given to flaaitaal speaking characters compared to speakers of Iscamtho and other South African languages.

The message that could be sent out as a result of such representation is that of Afrikaans as the language of the cruel, bossy, and mafia type isolated oppressor, which no one wants to associate with. This is as a result of how the flaaitaal speaking black masculine identities are depicted, as old, grey-haired oppressors and cruel bullies who always impose their way into other people's lives. Although people reject them and keep a distance from them, they will always find a way to impose their will. Now Afrikaans, through the application of flaaitaal, has been indirectly depicted as the old and powerless language of the oppressor which has lost value as no one wants to associate with it.

People associated with Afrikaans, especially the old, grey-haired apartheid architects and drivers, are deemed oppressors, bullies, bossy, cruel, heartless and societal ills. Flaaitaal speaking characters are outnumbered in terms of the cast in *Isidingo* and all other soapies, dramas and films. One will always find that there's only one flaaitaal speaking character in a soapy, drama or film. This could refer us back to the current South Africa reality, where Afrikaans speaking people are greatly outnumbered and Afrikaans is losing its power. It is increasingly regarded as an old language or language of the old, as much as the flaaitaal speaking characters are old. In *Isidingo*, Papa G is an old, grey-haired black flaaitaal speaking masculine identity that possess those attributes of being a mafia, bossy, bullish, cruel, and an oppressor.

The depiction of black masculinities within film, cinema and television: The stereotyped identity of black masculinities.

It has been argued by many theorists, such as Brown (2008), Gray (1995), Buasch (2013), and Craig (1992), that black images have always been negatively represented in the media, especially television. Black masculinities are always associated with negativity, and depicted as troublesome and a public enemy on television. It is, therefore, the norm that black masculinities are societal ills and, to some extent, toxic to the broader society. This is witnessed in most American films, especially gangster films, where the black image is always represented, portrayed and associated with negative images. Amongst many others, films include that of Meirelles' *City of God* (2002), and Hood's *Tsotsi* (2005).

Such a tradition and strategy has long been evident within the film and literature industry, dating back to films such as '*The birth of a Nation' (2016),* by Nate Parker*,* amongst many other films. As stated in JanMohamed (1985:64), in most instances European writers and filmmakers commodify the black masculine identity by negating his individuality and his subjectivity, so as to be recognized and seen as a generic being which is no different than all the others (his fellow blacks). LThis leads us to a conclusion and belief, that all black masculine identities are the same, as they are ruthless, careless, public enemies, criminals, not intelligent and so on. This is the result of what's been portrayed to us by films, dramas, soapies and various other media.

It has also been observed that in most South African films, dramas and soapies, flaaitaal speaking individuals are old, grey-haired black masculine identities who are portrayed as cruel, heartless, mafias, and monopolisers. This depiction of these characters has become a universal and uniform law in all films, dramas, and soapies where such flaaitaal characters are present. Thus, flaaitaal has been

branded as the language associated with negative old, grey-haired black masculine identities, leaving us with stereotypical beliefs and views of both the toxicity of the flaaitaal (Afrikaans syntax) and old, grey-haired masculine identities. Although old, grey-haired masculine identities are associated with flaaitaal, it should also be noted that it is not their native language or at form part of their native language since flaaitaal is a tsotsitaal with a dominant Afrikaans syntax.

In *Isidingo*, it has been observed that evil characters tend to use or are affiliated with flaaitaal. To an extent, this is problematic as it portrays black masculinities as corrupt and cruel dictators. Thus, flaaitaal (Afrikaans dialect/syntax), as much as it was a youth language, is associated with old, grey-haired black masculinities who use the language when portraying certain behaviour. This includes flaaitaal speaking characters using flaaitaal whenever in a bad mood (angry), when being bossy or when sending orders. Other behaviour and moods displayed by these characters, even when not applying flaaitaal, include that of greed, cruelty, monopolisers and mafias.

As a result of these observations, the chapter provide a microscopic view of the way flaaitaal, as assigned to the construction of mostly black male figures in *Isidingo*, implicitly recasts South African racial politics especially as these play themselves out between Afrikaner males and Black males. In an attempt to strengthen the argument in relation to flaaitaal and ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identities, the study will look into the techniques (theory to a certain extent) of identifying ordinary native Afrikaans speaking masculine identity (white) within a flaaitaal speaking black masculine identity, as drawn out in Pitcan, Warwick & Boyd (2018) and Sharpe (1989).

Pitcan, Warwick and Boyd (2018) use the term ''respectability politics'' to analyse the self-editing that individuals engage in that incorporates class, gender and race. The study will look into how respectability politics as a continuum of behaviours and attitudes reproduce dominant norms, and strategies for producing a counter-narrative to negative stereotypes placed upon subordinated groups. Pitcan, Warwick and Boyd's (2018) respectability politics describes how the early 20th century Black women rejected stereotypes of them being regarded as unworthy of respect and protection, immoral, and childlike. Instead of presenting themselves as polite and sexually pure as a way of showing white people that African Americans could be and are respectable. In relation to this study, we look at how in *Isidingo* (*1998),* ordinary black masculine identities (flaaitaal speakers/characters) resisted and rejected the stereotypes of them being ordinary tsotsis and societal ills who are economically poor, but rather are economically powerful, well-connected businessmen. However,

they embody negative attributes such as being cruel, corrupt, law breakers, which are always associated with ordinary black masculine identities.

Respectability politics, in general, boils down to respect and appreciation towards others, and also the expression of one's own true identity and behaviour without having to be criticised, looked down on, shamed or ridiculed. This includes being accepted and appreciated, and, as such, helps marginalised individuals to obtain uplifting mobility. The negative representation of blacks versus the positive and polite representation of whites in the media is also one of the main concerns of respectability politics (Pitcan, Warwick & Boyd, 2018).

Impression management, which is closely linked and related to one's self-representation, focuses more closely on describing people's attempts to control how others perceive and view them, especially in the media and social network platforms. This is the result of people striving to fit in, being considered appealing and acceptable, to avoid embarrassment or reduction in status. Impression management, thus, holds that people can transform aspects (gender, race, social status, and strength of social ties) of their self-presentation based on the nature of who they are speaking with or presenting to (audience).

In the discussion on Colonial Discourse theory, Sharpe (1989:142) looks into the introduction and adaptation of English within Indian education and how, in this capacity, the colonial subject served as an ideological alibi for colonialism. Sharpe (1989:144) provides a typical example of a colonial subject who served as an ideological alibi for colonialism, Rammohun Roy. Roy was from an upper-caste Hindu family, who introduced English to natives, initiated the Bengal renaissance, and founded the Anglo-Hindu College in 1816. Despite his perfect English accent and way of life, it was the inferiority of his race that he could not escape. In relation to Papa G in *Isidingo*, he also possess similar attributes as that of Roy. Although he is a black masculine identity who is a fluent speaker of an Afrikaans dominant syntax (flaaitaal), his blackness makes him inferior and an ideological alibi for colonialism and apartheid. To bring the reader closer to this study, two examples of detecting an ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity within a flaaitaal speaking black masculine identity will be provided and detailed. These examples are that of the 'Homosexuality case example' and that of a black society's view (gaze) of an ordinary white masculine identity.

An interesting and relative example of detecting an ordinary Afrikaner masculine identity within a flaaitaal speaking black masculine identity would be that of a homosexual. A homosexual is attracted

to the same sex, sexually, emotionally, relationship-wise, association and so on. We can therefore detect masculine identities (characteristics) within a homosexual (gay) being though such a being completely behaves and lives life like a female being. Such masculine identities include the physical body and biological reproduction which will come up against feminine behavioural characteristics and behaviour (lifestyle), thus we can detect a feminine identity within a masculine body/identity. Such an example is just a way of trying to form a relationship with the reader as to what the study is trying to raise and point out in relation to the detection of an ordinary native Afrikaner (white) masculine identity within a black masculine identity in Isidingo, the case of Papa G.

One important attribute of a white Afrikaner masculine identity within a black masculine identity in the case of Papa G in *Isidingo*, is that of power, wealth and connection. From a black societal gaze or point of view, a white man is always superior, powerful and wealthier than any other race. Such a stereotypical view has been carried on and held since colonization, throughout the slave trade, throughout Apartheid and to date. Interestingly, there is a term for a powerful, wealthy and connected black masculine identity by the black society which is that of ''Umlungu Omyama'' (A black white-man). This term of a black powerful, wealthy and connected person tells a lot about black people's (society's) view of a white man. Such a view is that a white man is by nature superior, wealthy, powerful and connected and it is by chance that a black masculine identity becomes wealthy, powerful, superior and connected. Therefore, they will be regarded and referred to as ''Umlungu Omyama'' since such attributes are not by nature that of a black man's.

Some people in black societies use another term for a wealthy, superior, powerful and connected black masculine identity, which is ''A white-man in a black skin''. As a result of such terms from black people and black societies, this will play a significant role in aiding the claim raised by this study which is that of an Afrikaner identity within a flaaitaal speaking black masculine identity. All of the above-mentioned characteristics are possessed and associated with Papa G in *Isidingo* along with the Afrikaner dominant (version) syntax of tsotsitaal.

As indicated by Sharpe (1989 : 144) from his example of Rammohun Roy, one of the Some people in black societies use another term for a wealthy, superior, powerful and connected black masculine identity, which is ''A white-man in a black skin''. As a result of such terms from black people and black societies, this will play a significant role in aiding the claim raised by this study which foremost attributes in detecting a white masculine identity (colonial alibi) within a non-white masculine identity is through language. Sharpe's illustration will be adopted to explain the whiteness (Afrikaner-ness)

within an old, grey-haired black masculine identity in *Isidingo*. Language is one of the first and foremost attributes which correlates the flaaitaal speaking black masculine identity with that of an ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity. Thus, serving as a colonial alibi where we witness certain attributes of an Afrikaner masculine identity within a Black masculine identity through Papa G in *Isidingo*.

In short, the study seeks to highlight the relativeness of flaaitaal speaking black masculine identities in *Isidingo* to that of the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity of the apartheid era as a result of the language, and behaviours of such masculine identities. These attributes include that of being economically powerful, bossy, cruel, and greedy, that both the flaaitaal speaking individuals and ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identities seem to share. One other important thing which unites these two types of males is language: flaaitaal and Afrikaans.

The study suggests the reading of flaaitaal speaking characters (old, grey-haired) can be equated to that of the craftiness and power-mongering of old, grey-haired Afrikaner male identities who were the main architects of apartheid. It is the result of such filmic construction of flaaitaal (Afrikaans) and its associations with black male characterisations in these films which implicitly recasts South African racial politics. In particular, as these play themselves out between Afrikaner males and Black males. The association of flaaitaal with black males in South African films has become a trope, but that which does not read the possibility that the black characterisation is a subversion of whiteness. This is as a result of being embodied by black renegade masculinities who acted out resistance to the subjugation of black men from slavery, colonial and apartheid times in South Africa. In an attempt to further relate the reader with the study, we will look into the L-Tido music video featuring AKA titled *No Favours,* as it strategically and ideologically plays around the hidden transcripts of language and the behaviours of its native speakers, Zulus, Afrikaners and ordinary township people(iscamtho speakers).

In the below video (See Figure 1) there is a representation of three linguistic groups, namely Afrikaans (Flaaitaal), Zulu and Iscamtho. When speaking Afrikaans (flaaitaal), Israel Makwe becomes bossy, aggressive, bullish, a dictator, and rough towards AKA (rapper) and L-Tido who both seem to be afraid of him and they do as he wishes. As a result, one can conclude that the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity is that who is viewed and depicted as aggressive, wild, violent, bossy, a bully, dictator, and so on. This is as a result of what is ideologically, strategically and indirectly represented in the video in the form of the deployment of Afrikaans. This is the result of on-going stereotypes

regarding ordinary native Afrikaner male identity based on certain historical events (Apartheid) and their behaviour towards other ethnic groups, especially blacks. The dialogue goes as follows:

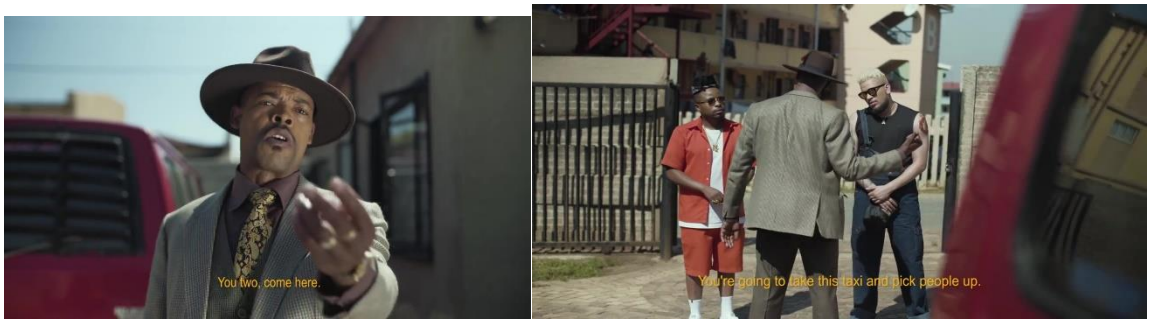
Israel Makwe (To AKA and L-tido):

- Ekse julle twee kom julle hierso *(you two come here).*
- E maan ukusheshwe maan*. (Make it snappy).*
- Entlek wat gaan an met julle? *(what's the deal with you two).*
-Julle loop rond la ekasi julle galavant julle maak vokol. *(You guys always loitering around with no purpose).*
-Kyk julle. Van vandag af, julle vat die khutshuvaya julle gaan dudula mense. Niya le staright e renkeni, niyo renka*. (Listen here, from today you're going to take this taxi and pick up people. Go straight to the taxi rank and work).*
-Ene ningazi ngama ''(swearing word)' nithi nzo shayi drada. *(Don't even try to steal any of my money)*
-Ek ken die julle geld. *(I want all of it)*
-Ek soek daai ''(swearing word)'' checking hierso. *(I want all of it. I want to receive all the taxi fare*)

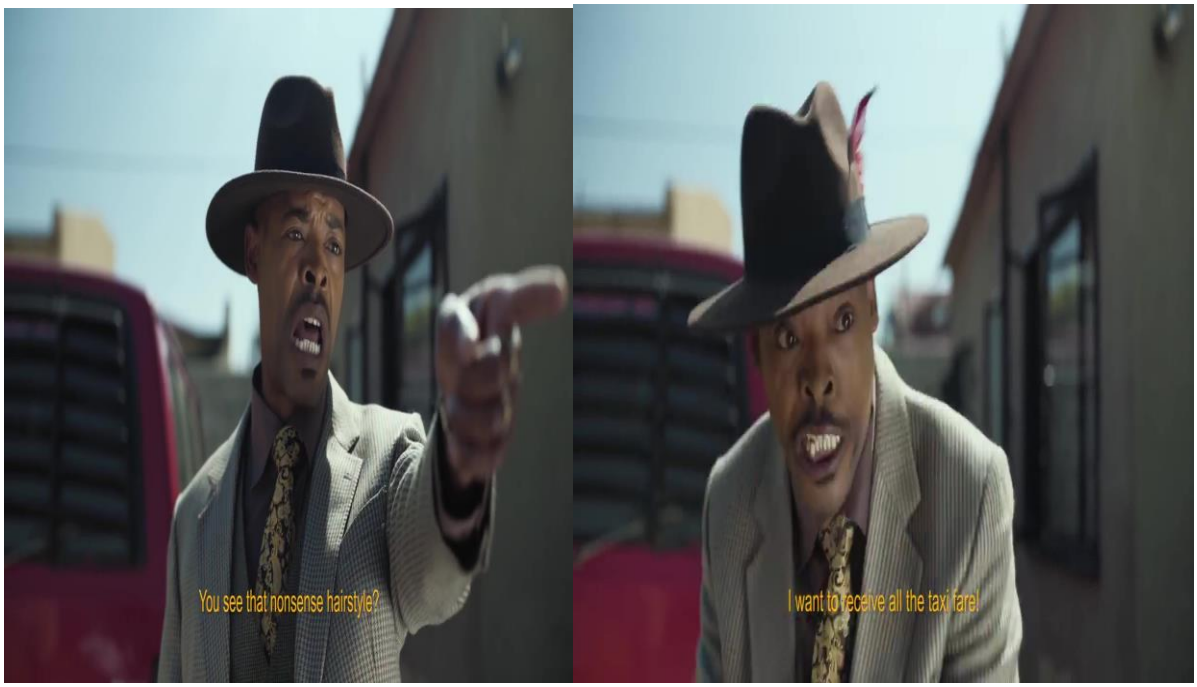
- Ngikhathele yilendaba nyana yeno yokuthi nizo hlala la ninga yenzi fokol. Umsebenzi wakho uyalala, uyavuka ''(innapropriate word)'', uyalala, bese uyafa. Huh?. Julle foken ''(swearing word)''. *(I'm tired of you two staying at my house and doing nothing. Your job is just to sleep, wake up, eat, defecate and then you die).*

- (To L-tido who has dreadlocks): Uyabona lama ''(swearing word)'' a la e kanda?. Chiskop. *(You see that nonsense hairstyle, shave it off).*
- (To AKA who has blond hair) : Wena, blondie, haak e renkeni. *(You, Blondie, go to the taxi rank now).* And ngiyibone le taxi I gcwele ifebe, kuzo nuka I gunpowder. Singajweyelani kabi. *(And if I find my taxi full of girls, there will be hell to pay. Don't disrespect me. Now get going)*

Figure 1: **L-tido ft AKA (No favours) still clips.**







In the above dialogue or conversation, the tone and messages drastically changes as Israel Makwe code–switches to Zulu, where he scolds AKA and L-Tido. He orders them to take his taxi and go rank (work), and stop basking in the sun all day. He also warns them not to steal his money. It is expected that Zulu natives are dominant in the South African taxi industry and that taxi owners are cruel towards

their drivers if they steal from them. This representation speaks volumes as the messages are not clear and direct, they require effort and familiarity with what is being represented. Thus, it is the result of such representation that stereotyping is instilled regarding certain societies, tribes, people and their language.

Making meaning out of the depiction of black masculine youth of post-1994 South Africa as represented by AKA and L-Tido, it is evident that they are depicted as lazy, jobless, good at nothing but basking in the sun, involved in criminal activities, love women, and are uneducated. When Israel Makwe code-switches to any of the three languages, he possesses the exact characteristics and stereotypes of that particular linguistic and racial group. This indicates some form of mimicry and aping. The deployment of language in the media is crucial as it carries along with it meaning which is represented either in the form of mimicry or in a subversive parodic manner.

Ana Deumert (2017) states that the usage of Afrikaans in tsotsitaal could have broader and deeper unconscious meanings and ideologies such as that of cultural-linguistic appropriation or even parody, where the language of the oppressor is adopted as one's own, turning it upside down in the process. This study argues that the association of old, grey-haired black masculine identities with a youth (gangster & street) language and an Afrikaans syntax in an upper and middle-class society in *Isidingo* brings some of the underlying instabilities of flaaitaal and the politics of resistance into sharp focus. Unknowing to the soapy producers, flaaitaal acts a hidden transcript, employing techniques, mainly the oppressed sections of the population's use as strategies to communicate dissent among themselves. Normally these hidden communicative codes are pregnant with ideology and counter-hegemonic practices. Scott (1990) states that hidden transcripts are discourses that take place off-stage, beyond direct observation by power-holders. Scott (1990) further states that as a result of hidden transcripts, investigators are not able to access certain information as a result of historical sources presenting only certain information to the public transcript. Therefore, when black masculinities are associated with flaaitaal and tsotsitaal, these language varieties are used to accentuate the play of the language in defining some of the lingering, toxic effects of racial politics within black male constructions. Most importantly, they reveal the hidden transcripts that should be read parallel to that of the ordinary native Afrikaner male identities but which are portrayed to lie within black masculine identities.

The themes to be discussed in this chapter will demonstrate the embodiment of white toxic masculinities. These will focus on language (flaaitaal) and characteristics of flaaitaal speaking black

masculine identities; resistance to white masculinities through flaaitaal; and play of language to talk to racial politics. The above-mentioned themes will assist in bringing us closer to witnessing and detecting, through hidden scripts, ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity within the flaaitaal speaking black masculine identity. It will also allow an understanding of how such representation implicitly recasts South African racial politics as it plays out between Afrikaner and Black masculine identities. The deployment of language in a soapy, drama or film could not be a mere reflection or representation of native speakers of that particular language. Language deployed in the media contains a deeper meaning and message. In most cases, the language deployed depicts the culture (behaviour, lifestyle, history) of its native speakers. Thus, the deployment of language in a soapy, drama or film is crucial and should be considered as vital to the way soapies, drama, and films perceive that particular group of people. To a certain extent, language in the media can be deployed as a way of mimicry or aping a particular linguistic group or native speakers of a particular language. This occurs mostly in South African adverts, where someone from a distinct linguistic and racial group is used to imitate or mimic another distinct linguistic and racial group. This is a strategic way of sending a message (stereotyping) regarding a particular racial and linguistic group.

Isidingo: The Need (1998): Background and context

Isidingo (1998) is a South African soapy in its 22nd season which first premiered on SABC 3 on the 7th of July 1998. It currently airs on SABC 3 on weekdays at 7pm. *Isidingo* is directed and created by Gray Hofmeyr, with its production companies being that of Pomegranate Media and Endemol Shine Africa. Grey Hofmeyr is a well-known South African born and television director, writer and producer. Hofmeyr trained and worked in the United Kingdom as a floor manager for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and started directing television drama in 1975 (Dercksen, 2018).

The theme of Isidingo is loosely based on another popular soap opera created by Hofmeyr, *The Villagers (1976)* that was broadcast during the Apartheid era in South Africa (Guy, 2006). *The Villagers (1976)* is one of South Africa's first television series which was originally broadcast by the SABC from 1976 to 1978. It had a white dominant cast and dealt with life in a small mining town on the Witwatersrand. *The Villagers (*1976*)* theme was based on life in the mines and the importance of family. It consisted of no toxic white masculinities but good and law-abiding individuals who were family men and prioritised taking care of their families. However, in *Isidingo (1998)* there were toxic English-speaking white masculine identities, including those of Robert Whitehead (who plays Barker Haines) and Arno Marais (who plays Benjamin Le Roux).

Benjamin Le Roux featured in *Isidingo (1998)* from 2009 to 2017, and was an IT specialist and a bad boy who usually hacked people's personal and confidential information. He was also responsible for the murder of his father Anton Dekker (played by Braam Le Roux) (Thangevelo, 2017). Though embodying negative attributes as a white masculine identity, Benjamin was depicted as an intelligent IT specialist and all his crimes (illegal activities) were white-collared, formal and professionalised. Barker Haines is an old, grey-haired white English speaking owner of Haines International and ON TV. He is a high-living billionaire who often schemes his way into the lives of various people in and out of the mining town. In a nutshell, Haines possesses more or less similar attributes to that of Georgie Zamdela, which include that of being a mafia, dictator and, at times, cruel or heartless. However, Barker Haines is a billionaire running his businesses and his toxic behaviour is not as intense as that of Georgie Zamdela. Both Haines and Le Roux possess some form of toxic masculinities as a result of circumstances around them, though their toxicity is sugar-coated, white-collared, formalised and standardised.

The cast of *Isidingo (1998)* priory to 2010 was white dominant with few Indian, coloured or black characters. It largely represented the life of the privileged in a white dominant society (suburbs). The main characters included the Haines family, the Matabanes, Vusi Moletsane the mine manager and various residents of the boarding house owned by Maggie Webster. The Matabanes are a close-knit family who comprise a stronghold, of sorts, in the populace of Horizon Deep, with Zebedee as the patriarch (Guy, 2006). Other central characters are Lolly De Klerk, Frank Xavier, Parsons Matibane, Georgie Zamdela and Calvin Xavier. As the years went by, the cast of *Isidingo (1998)* gradually transformed and has more black characters who made their debuts and transformed the racial construction of the soapie.

The storyline of *Isidingo (1998)* did not change despite the introduction of new characters and the departure of old characters, and the theme of *Isidingo (1998)* remained the same. The theme of *Isidingo (1998)* remained that which centres around mining within the town of Horizon Deep. Nina Zamdela is the daughter of Georgie Zamdela (Papa G) who inherited her father's businesses and performs a similar role as that of her father,. Sechaba is the heir of the Matabanes and lived with his wife Lerato. Although he is a much more modern young black businessman, him and his wife (Lerato) reminds us of Mom Agnes and Zebedee Matabane (old couple). Most current characters in Isidingo are simply family members of previous actors and are continuing the family legacy, either by following in the footsteps of previous family members or starting up their own lives and living slightly different

lifestyles compared to those of their family members. Above all else, the theme and storyline of *Isidingo (1998)* has not changed at all.

One of the most important factor to be considered when dealing with the media (news, film, drama, soapy, etc.) is that of the owners and funders of the production, which is the political economy of the media. Such a factor will be closely considered in the case of *Isidingo* and, thus, look into its funders, owners and drivers. By considering this, we will have an idea of who's behind and funds the production of *Isidingo* and what ideologies and beliefs are being promoted, who are they benefiting and what could be the main reason (philosophy) behind such ideologies.

However, it is difficult for media institutions (media production companies) to be transparent when it comes to their funders. The same has been going on within the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), where it has become confusing whether the South African government is one of the main funders of the SABC or not. Thus, the transparency of funders within the political and media sphere has become a shady and secretive issue. Beyond this, the driving force behind *Isidingo (1998)* is that of Randburg based Pomegranate Media and Dutch-based Endemol Shine Africa, though uncovering who the main funders of such a production company is challenging.

Pomegranate Media is a Randburg-based production company. Endemol Shine Group (Africa) is a Dutch-based production company founded and funded by Dutch media tycoon and billionaire Johannes Hendrikus Hubert (John de Mol Jr) and Dutch theatrical producer Johannes ''Joop'' Adrianus van den Ende, in 1994 (Endemol Entertainment Holdings NV, 2018). Before looking at the history of cinema and television in South Africa, we will pay attention to the political economy of the media which plays a significant role in familiarizing ourselves with the ownership of the media and ideologies pushed by funders and owners of media texts.

As defined in Wasko (2012:26), political economy is the study of the social relations, particularly power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources. In other words, political economy is about survival and control, or how societies are organised to produce what is necessary to survive, and how order is maintained to meet societal goals. Thus, much of the influence that the media have upon people's perceptions of the world and of their positions in this world is determined by those who hold societal power. This is done through their capability of coercing people to do and believe what they otherwise would not do or believe.

One ought to be aware that the political economy plays a huge role within the media, as big elites and corporates (institutions) push their mandates and ideologies through the media. Such corporates do so in the form of funding the media or production companies. In post-1994 South Africa, the ownership of the media and film production companies was under white hands, with a few under the ownership of blacks. From its inception, *Isidingo* was produced and directed by a white masculine identity, Gray Hofmeyr. He was part of film Production Company (though he worked under different production companies depending on the films/dramas he directed) during the apartheid era, a period where censorship of the media by the ruling apartheid party was the order of the day. This alone suggests that ideologies and representation of black masculine identities in *Isidingo* could be up for debate as the owners of production were trained and came into the limelight during the apartheid period. In the case of Hofmeyr, he does not come through as an alternative filmmaker. Hofmeyr's films were firmly in the mainstream. It, therefore, becomes interesting to study how he handles aspects related to black resistance culture, including the resistance taken by the use of tsotsitaal. The question is, does he use the language variety for aesthetic purposes or because of its association with negative black masculinities? Has he appropriated it to be buttressing the conventional negative constructions of black masculinities as seen in international and local mainstream films?

Flaaitaal, attitudes and black masculine identities: Analysis of *Isidingo* episodes (Papa G)

Flaaitaal speaking characters possess certain personal characteristics such as being a dictator, oppressor and cruel towards those who don't obey their rules or try to interfere with any of their businesses or family. A typical example is that of Papa G (Bra Georgie) in *Isidingo (1998)*, who is an old mafia who runs his businesses (taxis, shebeen/sports bar and various other businesses) through his messengers or daughter (Nina Zamdela). All he does is sit indoors in his office and call the shots. Papa G is feared and respected, especially by those who have tried to double-cross him, as they know what he's capable of. Such a flaaitaal speaking character never gets his hands dirty but always has boys (men, messengers, co-workers) who will do the dirty job for him. This indicates what kind of a dictator and oppressor he is, and that he is a real threat to society. The still clips below are taken from an episode of *Isidingo*, which illustrates the bossy-ness, oppressiveness, and dictatorship of Papa G who will go to the extent of doing anything in order to protect his image, family, and business.

Figure 2: Papa G threatening and harassing Angelique









In the above scene, Papa G feels threatened by Eddie Holmes (who is a policeman) and in response abducts Angelique, a lawyer, and forces her to convince Eddie to stop investigating and bothering him, as he might end up putting Papa G into danger or jail. In response, Angelique does not fully agree that she'll do Papa G the favour, and in response, Papa G threatens to kill Angelique which then leaves her with no choice but to help. The conversation goes on as follows;

Angelique: Georgie I thought you and I were done.

Papa G: Is die jita die man Eddie Holmes. Hy harass my family. *(That guy Eddie Holmes is harassing my family again).*

Angelique: It's got nothing to do with me.

Papa G: Angelique praat met hom maan (man). Oortuig met hom asseblief. *(Angelique, talk to him, man. Tell him (convince him) to leave us alone).*

Angelique: He's not going to listen to me.

Papa G: *(nods to his bodyguard/stuur-boy as an indication to hurt Angelique):* Angelique die is nie United Nations nie, die is Horizon Deep. Help a bra maan. Moenie so nie, you make a prayer. *(Angelique this is not the United Nations, this is Horizon Deep. Help a Brother or say a prayer).*

Papa G: (to his bodyguard/stuur-boy): Masi dabuke. *(Let's go).*

Angelique is set free by Bra Georgie's guards and rushes off in fear.

To a certain extent, this portrayal could be an illustration of how the apartheid regime would act to get to you if you seem to be a threat or problematic to the regime, even if it means manipulating the people around you. In most cases, the apartheid regime would use what was then referred to as Apartheid police informants or spies to have access to problematic apartheid regime opponents. These informants consisted of people within black societies (townships) whose role was to keep the apartheid police updated regarding protests and any planned attacks by community leaders or activists. Amongst other roles, the informants interfered with or delayed any well-planned protests or attacks by manipulating the leaders of such planned events. These spies were people close to community leaders, activists, and other apartheid regime opponents, therefore, had the advantage of playing a role to convince and manipulate these leaders.

Flaaitaal speaking characters in post-1994 South African television, soapies, dramas and films are also depicted as cruel, heartless and cold-hearted. These are characters that would do anything to anyone as long as it would satisfy their needs or pleasure, likewise, the apartheid regime which went to the extent of killing, or destroying anyone who was a threat to the regime. Signs of cruelness, heartlessness and cold-heartedness are evident in *Isidingo (1998)*, when Papa G recruits his grandson, Obakeng, into his drug and various other criminal activities. Papa G is only concerned about making money and satisfying his needs and wants. He cares less about what satisfies and is good for Obakeng. It is in *Isidingo (1998)* Episode 92, Season 20 (from 0:29 minutes to 0:43 minutes) where we witness Nina, Papa G's daughter, informing Papa G how cruel, cold-hearted and heartless he is. Papa G, as a flaaitaal speaking character, is so heartless, cruel, and cold-hearted that even his daughter realizes this.

***Figure 3: Isidingo (1998)* still clips from Episode 92, Season 20**



The scene takes place in Papa G's office, with Nina, Obakeng and Papa G. Nina angrily and fearlessly confronts Papa G and tells him how she feels about him. The dialogue in the scene goes as follows:

Nina *(to Papa G/Bra Geargie):* You send your grandson to his death time and time again. Bese ngiyazi phendula *(Then I answer/respond to myself).* It's because you feel nothing. Awuna gazi *(you have no blood* in your veins, you're cold). You're a cold old man.

In Episode 169 of *Isidingo (1998)* (15:38 minutes), we see Papa G violently abusing a man accompanied by his bodyguards. It is likely that this young man did not abide to Papa G terms or did not do as Papa G wanted. This is assumed as a result of the very same young man being rewarded with a pile of money by Papa G later on in another scene, indicating that eventually the young man abided by Papa G's terms and conditions. Strictly applying (speaking) flaaitaal in the very same scene, Papa G insists to Nina that Matlala is his son, whether he can prove it or not, and nothing will change this, even if Gatanga brings up the truth about Matlala's real father. Gatang is an old, grey-haired Sesotho speaking black masculine identity, who is a traditional healer and Safira's ex-lover, claiming to be Matlala's biological father. Papa G also insists to Nina on arranging a welcome ceremony (ancestral ceremony) for Matlala so as to officially welcome him as his son. This indicates that he acts with impunity, and cannot be bothered by how people around him perceive his actions.

Figure 4: Still clips for Episode 169



One crucial aspect which the chapter observed is the application of languages by characters and the mood (facial expressions and feelings) of such characters. Usually, flaaitaal is deployed by Papa G when in a bad, bossy, dictator-like and unrelaxed mood. However, he drops flaaitaal when in a joyful, loving and relaxed mood and, instead, applies IsiZulu. This is evident in Episode 169 (03:49 – 04:10), when he tells Nina about the way he and Safira were lovebirds, he speaks in Zulu with a face full of love and happy memories. In short, this informs us about flaaitaal (Afrikaans) and itsrelationship with emotions, love, affection and its overall nature, which is associated with cruelty, dictatorship and aggressiveness. This interplay and association of flaaitaal along with negative constructions of black masculinities, to some extent, makes it difficult for ordinary audiences who are not critical to identify hidden or strategic ideologies associated with such representation. The black identities switch from one form of architype to another; they are two-dimensional characters with no complexity. Perhaps this also projects the identity of white Afrikaner identities that black people had to deal with over time. These white identities are reflections of colonialism and apartheid, which were also embroiled in binary oppositions. On one hand, colonialism was about the advancement of the other races and, on the other, it was about the total merciless exploitation of these other people across the world. These scenes indicate that Papa G, as associated with flaaitaal and power, influence and wealth, does

whatever it takes to get what he wants, even if it means obtaining this at the expense of others by using his dominance and power.

Figure 5: *Isidingo (1998)* still clips for Episode *169*



Characteristics of a mafia, dictator and a boss also presented in *Isidingo (1998)* Episode 175 Season 1 (04:03 minutes – 05:10 minutes). In this episode, as Papa G is in his home, an intimate space, having tea/coffee and dictating to Matlala and Nina what to do and how he wants it done, these attributes come to light. Both Matlala and Nina are playing the role of being Papa G's ears and eyes. This is further evident in the same episode (17:16 – 18:25 minutes; 21:21 – 22:17 minutes), when Papa G orders Matlala and Nina to organise a meeting with members of the taxi association, during which Papa G will use Matlala as his mouthpiece, despite being present himself. This is when Papa G orders Matlala to act as a front at the meeting and say everything is ordered by him. However, Matlala stated that he is not yet ready for such a challenge.

Figure 6: *Isidingo (1998)* still clips for Episode 169















Likewise, Papa G's influence and power is evident in Episode 89 Season 20 *of Isidingo (1998)* when he meets up with a police officer who is a CID and Papa G's private informant within the police force. This cop's duty is to cover up Papa G's dirty work and distract other lawmakers, especially Eddie Holmes, when it comes to bringing him to justice. This is an indication of how powerful, connected and influential Papa G is. The following scene in Episode 89 Season 20 of *Isidingo (1998)* portrays Papa G and his bodyguard harassing Angelique in an attempt to gain access to and get information about

Eddie Holmes. More surprisingly, Papa G now has close access to Eddie Holmes with the assistance of a police officer (CID) who works closely with Eddie Holmes. The CID is Eddie Holmes' partner and is leaking vital information to Papa G. In this scene, the conversation goes as follows:

Both Papa G and the cop enter the room (Papa G's office).

Bra Georgie: Yes, eh kyk hierso ek het gevag maan. Het jy die job gedoen. Ek meen die van Oom Eddie Holmes.? *(eh Look, I've been waiting. Did you do the job? I mean, the Eddie Holmes job.).*

Cop (Bra Georgie's spy/stuur-boy): Ke o tjhwaretse ditaba. *(I've got news for you).*

Bra Georgie : Yah.., yah. *(yes.., yes).*

Cop (Bra Georgie's spy/stuur-boy*):* Eddie o thomile kgoba le seperie maan. O founela Nina Kgantjhie le kgantjhie. All the time he calls. *(Eddie is starting to be very secretive. He calls Nina more often nowadays).*

Bra Georgie (shocked): Kante wat gaan aan met daai kind? (What's going on with that child).

Cop (Bra Georgie's spy/stuur-boy*):* Also, Papa G, o fetso kopana le mapodisa a ma holo. Bo Brigadier le di General. *(Also, Papa G, he's been meeting with big cops. The Brigadiers and the Generals).*

Bra Georgie : Vir wat?. (about/for what?).

Cop (Bra Georgie's spy/stuur-boy*):* Ka wena. *(about You).*

Bra Georgie: haaii…, haai. (*No.., no).*

Cop (Bra Georgie's spy/stuur-boy*):* Ba kopana ka sepering. Ba nyaka ho pohlamisa, ba o ise toronkong bophelo ka moka. Selo sa mokguta o se direkga feela ka molato moholo, Papa G. Ke na le feeling ya hore they're out to get you. *(They meet secretively. They want to take you down, send you to prison for good. This only happens in serious cases, Papa G. I have a feeling they're out to get you).*

Bra Georgie: Ao mpotse.., jy wil me verte om te se dat hulle het my kind om te force om te se sy moet against me is?. (*Are you telling me they forced my kid to turn against me?).*

Cop (Bra Georgie's spy/stuur-boy: No.., no. As far as I know she came to them on her own.

Bra Georgie: Ah, alright. Disappear.

Cop (Bra Georgie's spy/stuur-boy: Hlokomela moradi wa hao Papa G. (Be careful of your daughter Papa G).

Bra Georgie: Vaya maan*. (Just go).*

Figure 7*: Isidingo (1998*) still clips for Season 20 Episode 89







The above analysis of scenes from *Isidingo* indicates how resourceful and powerful flaaitaal speaking characters are. To some extent, it also indicates the power of the language they are associated with because you can never identify an individual without associating them with a language. Papa G, associated with the Afrikaans syntax of tsotsitaal, is possessed with material power and that of self-power. He has people who abide and live according to his instructions and all he does is call shots so everything happens as he wishes, and, if not, then one will face the consequences. Though a tsotsitaal speaking character, Papa G possess large amounts of wealth and with such wealth he can control and rule people and impose his will on them without any hassle. Since the beginning of *Isidingo*, Papa G plays the role and possesses those attributes of a mafia, he is very oppressive, and always gets what he desires.

Papa G is a successful businessman who, in most cases, portrays signs of dictatorship, aggressiveness, greediness, oppressiveness, and that of a monopolist. Such personal traits resemble that of an ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity and are associated with the Afrikaans language. This is the language of the oppressor, especially during the apartheid era. This has led to that widely forged stereotype and perception of the ordinary Afrikaner identity as aggressive, oppressive, greedy, and unkind, especially towards non-Afrikaans speaking individuals. This perception and stereotype was

formed due to the way the ordinary Afrikaans native speakers conducted themselves during the Apartheid era.

Resistance to white masculinities through flaaitaal and the play of language to talk to racial politics

The effects of these representations have led to clever observations linking flaaitaal as a refletion on the stereotypical identity of an ordinary white Afrikaner masculine identity, especially during the apartheid period. More importantly, to the mafia-type apartheid architects who always called shots though they were always behind the scenes. To elaborate this claim, we will delve into the main architects and drivers of the apartheid regime and how they indirectly sent messengers and agents to fulfil their mandates. The mandates included the killing of anti-apartheid civilians, activists and politicians. These were old, grey-haired native Afrikaner masculine identities who were behind the scenes (offices, in their homes, indoors etc) and not on the battlefield. To some extent I'd regard them as what is termed ''tsotsis in suits'', as their deeds and strategies they applied in terms of ruling the country during the apartheid era, led to the perception of ordinary white Afrikaners (especially masculine identities) as societal ills and those who are cruel, oppressive, dictators, mafias, and greedy, along with their language.

There are quite a few reasons why the old greyed-hair native Afrikaner masculine identities, who formed part of the South African Apartheid parliament and government, are to a certain extent connected with the old greyed-hair flaaitaal speaking black masculine identities in post-1994 South African television. Such a cohort of old greyed-hair white Afrikaner masculine identities are to a certain extent the main orchestrators of the 'Total Strategy', 'Killing and arresting of anti-apartheid political activists', Oppression of non-whites during apartheid, and one of the cruellest thing they had ever done was the recruitment and deployment of Wouter Basson also known to many as 'Dr Death'. All of the above mentioned, sums up the kind of people the old greyed-hair white Afrikaner masculine identities who formed part of the apartheid government and parliament. This subsection will further give a brief detail of the above-mentioned instances (events) orchestrated by the apartheid government and also indicate the link, connection, and relationship between them and post-1994 flaaitaal speaking black masculine identities in South African television.

In conclusion, language use reveals many aspects about society and its actors. It reveals the historical contexts, which at times are about past abuses of power by the state and adherents to state policy. It

also reveals shifts that can occur as subjugated people appropriate the language to re-identify themselves in ways that were not provisioned for by an oppressive state. In the case of *Isidingo,* Papa G's language use is associated with ideologies of resistance as a result of the evolution of the flaaitaal language. However, as an elder in society, he is also associated with attributes, stereotypes and identity of the then apartheid era oppressors. Ideologically, his appropriation of the language is that of resistance but in the post-1994 television context. His resistance has lost favour and relevance, as a consequence he comes through as a violator of other people's human rights and he can only exist in this community through imposition. Most importantly, and very puzzling, is his age which still leaves room for debate as to why an old, grey-haired black masculine identity is associated with flaaitaal which formed part of the then youth languages. Were individuals of his age familiar with any of the tsotsitaal languages? And, why are these old, grey-haired black masculine identities associated with such a language given such roles, and why has this characterisation become a trope in post-1994 television? The next chapter will focus on iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities and their portrayal as those who are visionless, futureless, heartless, disrupters, criminals, rapists, and societal ills. Before that, we will look into the representation of black masculine identities in South African television, the African diaspora and international (American) diaspora.

A review on black masculinity will play a vital role in understanding the strategy to associate Black images with anxiety, violence, and all sorts of negativity by the media. It has become a norm, stereotype, and universal fact that Black masculinities, as depicted in films, are ambassadors of criminal activities and that which constitutes societal ills. Thus, Black masculinities are negatively and toxically represented to the extent that their images are at times deployed to mimic the other (different race) who is also very toxic and involved in other criminal activities and a source of societal ills. Thus, the blame, negativity and shaming is always directed at the black images. This will help the study in relating Black masculinity's representation in the mass media (soapy, drama, film, and series) with the theories and works on black masculinities.

In his discussion of the representation and construction of black masculine identities in South African television, Luyt (2012) indicates that white men are represented as exemplars of hegemonic masculinity whilst black men are marginalised. Some of the hypotheses relating to the representation of black masculinities in South African television, as discussed by Luyt (2012) include: how white men are represented significantly more frequently as of higher socioeconomic status and occupying positions of greater social authority than black men. Most importantly to the argument which the study is aiming to raise; is how white men are portrayed significantly more positively than black men. Luyt (2012) also indicates that findings largely support the notion that men are represented

significantly differently in television advertisements depending upon their race. These differences in representation reflect an intersection between traditional gender and race relations in South Africa, which are marked by longstanding inequalities and serve to maintain hierarchical social relations between men in the country.

Malinga and Ratele (2016:101-102) hold that our attitudes and values about particular cultures and individuals are, at times, influenced by media sources, as a result of how they portray, construct and represent such cultures and individuals. Furthermore, Malinga and Ratele (2016) note the distorted portrayals of black males. These include underrepresentation, exaggeration of negative associations, limited positive associations, framing of Black men as problematic, and exclusion of the voices of many young black men. Malinga and Ratele (2016) further indicate that it is, therefore, as a result of these distortions which have the effect of reducing attention to "structural and big picture factors" while perpetuating the image of young black men as inherently dangerous. The findings by Malinga and Ratele (2016) fit well with the characters of Chester and Papa Action in *Yizo Yizo (1999),* who areboth negatively exaggerated most of the time. Both these characters are very unruly as they sell drugs within the school premises at their newly established spot, where they spend all day not attending classes but smoking and consuming alcohol in Chester's luxurious BMW 325is, which is well known as a 'Gushesh' amongst people in black townships. In addition, Chester carries a gun to school and never attends any classes as he was admitted without any previous school results or testimonial. It is very difficult to be convinced that such representation is a true reflection of reality in black townships, as it seems to have been exaggerated.

Looking at the representation of black masculinity in popular culture, Brown (2008) illustrates the importance of race being a master status in understanding the enactment of identity, since Black masculinity turns out to be negatively represented in most instances. Thus, Brown indicates that meaning and attributions associated with Blackness (in film, televisions, adverts and other popular culture) have always been overwhelmingly negative. In relation to the representations of black masculinities, Craig (1992) highlights the issue of the media (television, film, news) leaning on programmes with content that negatively depict the lives of black masculinities. Throughout the history of film, black images have been represented negatively and as those who are inferior to the white man.

Hadland et al.(2008) focus on the representations of black masculinities in South African and American popular culture. The book focuses on the American mainstream media which tends to

associate black men to crime, violence and gangster rap, and thus terming such representation as tough disguise. The book illustrates example from the film *Shaft (1971)* which depict the lives of young black men as that of crime, violence and drug dealing. It is also indicated, in the book, that most South African films, soapies, drama, and the media associates black masculinities with crime, violence, and cruelness which leads to stigma and stereotyping. Furthermore, in relation to the representations of black masculinities, Craig (1992) highlights and emphasizes on the issue of the media (television, film, news) leaning on programs with content that negatively depict the lives of black masculinities.

Buasch (2013) indicates how young black males, in the 1990s, were always a site for anxiety in American society and how the media in America zoomed in on the role of young black men in violent crimes, especially gang violence. Buasch (2013) also states how film can act as a contested space for debate on the society in which we live, rather than serving as an entertainment platform. In general, Buasch (2013) heavily focuses on the representation of black masculinities (women and men) in the American media.

The study, in chapter 2, will now shift focus to the representation of Iscamtho speaking Black masculine identities in *Yizo Yizo (1999*). Under such a chapter, is where the study zooms into the representation of such iscamtho characters as compared to their counterparts, flaaitaal characters, and what could such representation imply or what could be interpreted out of such representation. One other important factor is that the study provides factors which could have led to the conduct and behaviour of such Iscamtho speaking characters, who are visionless, violent, uneducated and so on. The representation of Flaaitaal speaking character will also form part of chapter two.

Chapter 3: Izokuhlephula Insangu Yizo Yizo (1999)

Introduction

In *Yizo Yizo (1999)*, it has been observed that Iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities are portrayed as those who are societal-ills, poor, violent, vision-less, uneducated, rude, hopeless young black criminals and drug addicts who are presumably from dysfunctional families. This should be the easiest basis from which the film could project such youth because African families were destroyed by migrant labour and other systematic structural designs as a result of colonialism and apartheid government. This chapter explores this aspect as it relates to how their linguistics choices are used to archetype African male youth in South African television dramas, post-1994. The chapter will draw from youth subculture theories, examining the main ideology and intentions behind this representation amongst young Iscamtho speaking black masculine identities in township spaces. Further, the chapter will assess what ideology and message is being sold to us about the birth and emergence of tsotsitaal in township settings and how it emerged as a corner culture.

There are two dominant strains explaining youth behaviour in post-industrial societies. One strain emphasises social issues such as violence, self-identity, sense of belonging and dysfunctional family systems, whereas the other strain focuses on gender roles within black societies (urban and townships) as evident in the scholarship of Mhlambi (2010), Glaser (1964) and Vetten (2000). Through their views, the argument will touch on issues of linguistics typification associated with such societal problems. In particular, how the depiction of iscamtho speaking black masculinities in *Yizo Yizo (1999)* is linked to societal ills. The other strain is espoused by Deumart (2017) and Scott (1990) whose focus on hidden transcripts indicate representations about a particular product, show that individuals (group) could have hidden meaning and ideologies which the investigator or audience (public) will find difficult to access or interpret. This chapter will expound on Deumart (2017) and Scott's (1990) thesis and highlight meanings and ideologies entailed in the associations of iscamtho with problematic youth in *Yizo Yizo.*

In her work titled *Crime Discourses and Outlaw in Culture*, Mhlambi (2010) looks into crime discourses brought into *Yizo Yizo (1999)* and the threat to democracy in post-apartheid South Africa. In doing so, Mhlambi (2010) indicates the existence of the white world and the black marginalised world (poverty, neglect and discrimination) and how this has played a major role in understanding crime in South Africa. Daveyton is a black dominant community situated east of Johannesburg which consist of high levels of unemployment, poverty, is a marginalised and discriminated society both economically and

socially. This plays a huge role in explaining the behaviours and actions of iscamtho speaking characters in *Yizo Yizo (1999)* and that of crime within the surroundings of the school and the township. To further explain, the study will analyse the behaviours and conduct of iscamtho speaking characters Chester and Papa Action, as a result of the marginalised black world, and as a result of their close relationship with Bra Gibb, who is a flaaitaal speaking old, grey-haired black masculine identity. In relation to Chester and Papa Action, we will look at how they are being unruly (disruptive and disrespectful), violent, uneducated and how this leads to them being number one public enemies of the community.

The main focus of this chapter will be on the way these young black masculine identities associated with iscamtho are depicted as unruly, violent, and uneducated. The focus on Iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities will be juxtaposed with representations of flaaitaal speaking old, grey-haired black masculine identities. As argued in the previous chapter, flaaitaal speakers are depicted as better off than those who are Iscamtho speaking black masculine identities. Further, it is argued that such juxtaposition suggests a trope type casting a remake of South African racial politics as these play themselves out between Afrikaner males and African males.

In relation to the overall issues affecting youth in black townships as represented in *Yizo Yizo (1999)*, the line of argument is drawn from Ramphele and Richter (2006), Ramphele (2012; 2017) and Smith (2000). Ramphele and Richter (2006) look into the dysfunctionality and instability of black families in townships, how this came about, and how it affects the well-being of the youth. In her works, Ramphele (2012; 2017) focuses in detail into how people in neglected, poor black townships are not reaping the fruits of freedom and democracy which they fought hard for. Ramphele indicates the current ruling party has neglected and betrayed the poor by touching on the government's lack of service delivery, empty promises and its neglect of its citizens.

Smith (2000) examines the impact of historical educational crises on the present conditions of education, as addressed by *Yizo Yizo (1999).* In other words, does the series explore the experiences of township high school youth in post-apartheid South Africa. In addition, Smith (2000) explores the nature of *Yizo Yizo (1999)* and whether it succeeded in educating the audience on the conditions of and issues affecting township schooling. Smith (2000) examines and focuses specifically on how real a reflection of reality *Yizo Yizo's (1999)* representation of the experiences of township high school youths is, by interrogating representations of violence and gender relations, and the implicit messages in these representations and analysis of the language deployed in the form of spoken and gestures.

Synopsis of *Yizo Yizo*

Yizo Yizo (1999) was shot and based in and around Daveyton, and consists of iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities, including Chester, Papa Action and various employees, or rather stuur-boys, of Bra Gibb, who are uneducated and unruly criminals. Sonny boy, who is a taxi driver and probably uneducated, goes around luring and preying on young and powerless schoolgirls, buying them gifts in exchange for sex, and at times rapes them, just as he did Hazel. Hazel is a female learner at the Supatsela High School who was Sonnyboy's girlfriend. Bobo and Sticks are two iscamtho speaking characters who live together and seem to be orphans. They are both learners at Supatsela High School, who struggle to maintain a basic day to day lifestyle which ends up seeing Bobo losing faith in education and being involved in selling and taking drugs so as to at least balance life and the situation they're facing. Sticks and Bobo's situation, along with that of Chester, Papa Action and various other characters, refers us back to Mhlambi (2010) and Glaser (1964), who both examine the way dysfunctional families and a disabled family structures could be another contributing factor to the behaviour and conduct of such iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities in *Yizo Yizo (1999).*

The dysfunctionality and destabilisation of the traditional African family system

The dysfunctionality and destabilisation of the traditional African family system dates back to the colonial era, and continued throughout the migrant labour system as a result of industrialisation and the establishment of factories and mines in major cities. This migrant labour system distracted, destabilised and dissolved the traditional African family system as men, and at times Women, had to leave their homes to work in factories or mines very far away from their homes and children. To a certain extent, the absence of the father or mother figure within the home affected many children which also led to an improper upbringing as a result of the lack of parental supervision and assistance. Therefore, it became difficult for children to take care of themselves and their younger siblings, and familiarise themselves with proper manners and a nurturing style of upbringing. It is as a result of the lack of such basic early life qualities which could explain the troublesome and unruly characters like Papa Action and Chester, as it is evident that they do not have the basic qualities, such as respect, calmness, manner and so on, to relate with other people.

In *Yizo Yizo (*1999*),* iscamtho speaking characters like Chester and Papa Action lack certain early life skills and intimacy (love and caring), which could have been provided by their parents. In most black communities, bringing up children is quite different compared to non-black communities. This is as a result of the inequalities in wealth. Most parents in black societies are forced to wake up early and spend long hours at work, either in domestic spaces or factories, while some leave their homes for days and months to work in factories, vineyards, mines and so on, as they need money to maintain their families. In domestic spaces, black parents work overtime taking care of their employer's children and also cleaning the houses, whereas their own children are given no love and care because of their absence. Parents from middle-class societies mostly spend time with their children after work and on weekends, whereas parents from black societies are always too exhausted after work to monitor and supervise their children who may end up on the streets and come back late at night, thus, not bridging the gap between parent and child intimacy. For black parents who work in faraway mines, domestic spaces and factories, their intimacy and bond with their children is interrupted. All that remains are a biological parent and child who see one another once or twice a month, leaving a lot of parent to child qualities unmet.

In *Migrancy, family dissolution and fatherhood,* Ramphele and Richter (2006) look into the migrant labours system and forced removals and the impact they've played on black lives, especially that of the youth and their upbringing. This study will apply Ramphele and Richter (2006) as a base to further elaborate on the circumstances of the Iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities in *Yizo Yizo (1999).* Ramphele and Richter (2006) hold that the migrant labour system played a huge role in disrupting all aspects of family life. Reason being that the migrant labour system witnessed men leaving their rural families for employment in cities and spent months without visiting their rural families. Thus, it became very difficult for these men to re-establish their authority in the house during their short visits and also difficult to re-establish the intimacy with their wives as a result of having been absent for quite some time. The struggle to keep up with loneliness and a lack of intimacy led many men working in cities with two wives, the city wife to cater for their immediate sexual needs and the rural wife who would keep the family stable.

As a result of low wages earned by these men, coupled with the new family in the city, this led to the gradual neglect of the rural family which then saw the rural wife travelling to the city to join her husband, leaving the children behind with close relatives. Such a scenario will then witness children who are reared by their grandparents, aunts and/or uncles and so on, missing out on the opportunity of being raised by both parents and missing out on the intimacy and love offered a caring mom and

dad. Such significantly affects the upbringing of these children as they miss out on quite a lot. To add further complexity to this man-made destruction of African families, were the forced removals of families. Due to forced removals and re-settling of parents, children were caught in between since some had to relocate and live with relatives. In some instances, they had to move again to other relatives and change schools due to the toxic relationship with the relative's children or partners.

Most children were raised by their grandparents from their mother's side. There is no evidence in *Yizo Yizo (1999)* of iscamtho speaking characters such as Chester, Papa Action, Bobo, Sticks and Thiza as being raised and living with both parents, biological or step parents. Bobo and Sticks are orphans who lost their parents to HIV/AIDS; Papa Action's mother (single parent) is only evident in *Yizo Yizo (2001)* Season 2; Chester has no family whatsoever as none of his family members is evident in any Yizo Yizo seasons. Thiza, on the other hand, lives with his elder brother, Zakes, and grandmother. The life situation of the above mentioned correlates with Ramphele and Richter's (2006) work in explaining the dissolving and destabilising of the traditional African family system as a result of migration and industrialisation, and how this affects the upbringing of children in African societies. As Ramphele and Richter (2006) indicate, in most cases, children born before marriage or out of wedlock were expected to stay with their mother's family even when their mother entered into a matrimonial bond with another man so as to avoid abuse of the children by their mother's new partner. In some instances, mothers did not disclose or acknowledge their children in their new relationships, thus, leaving their biological children to live with the grandparents and miss out on that vital mother and father figure. This fostered that lack of trust and respect for their biological parents.

It is, thus, evident that most, if not all, Iscamtho speaking characters in *Yizo Yizo (1999)* were victims of neglect or improper upbringing and a lack of parental intimacy, nurture (grooming), caring and love. In simple terms, iscamtho speaking characters such as Chester and Papa Action missed out on the proper parental (mother and father) figure or upbringing. Absent father figures are a challenge, especially, to young males, as they can leave a void which mothers often ignore or are unable to address. This can lead to these young men without role models or anchors. In her work titled '*Conversations with my Sons and Daughters*', Ramphele (2012) highlighted that 48% of children living in South Africa were victims of absent fathers, whereas only 36 percent of children were living with their fathers. Ramphele (2012) further states that young black masculine identities (youths) in black societies are beneficiaries of the economic benefits of re-addressing the inequities of the past, however, their psycho-social developmental needs are not adequately addressed. Other factors which contributed to the behaviours of such black masculine identities is the result of the neglect and betrayal by the ruling government, The African National Congress (ANC), post-1994.

Citizens feeling betrayed and neglected by the ANC

The most impoverished and poor citizens in townships, informal settlements and rural areas feel neglected and betrayed by the current (post-apartheid) government. People feel that they are excluded from and deprived of enjoying the benefits of the hard fought for democracy, which they also played a role in fighting for. Politicians and middle-class blacks and non-whites are believed to be the only ones reaping the fruits of the hard fought for freedom, whereas ordinary people are placed in neglected areas on the outskirts of town. In such areas, there's poor service delivery, congestion, crowded and unhygienic areas with poor sanitation, high levels of crime and unemployment, and schools with incompetent teachers where learners have lost hope in education and others have committed themselves to severe alcohol consumption and drug addiction. Examples of such areas are the African townships in the East Rand, Soweto, West Rand, and Vaal amongst many others.

In support of the above statements and claims, the study will refer to Ramphele's (2017) work titled '*Dreams, Betrayal and Hope',* in which she touches on how ordinary citizens in South Africa feel neglected and betrayed by the current ruling party. Ramphele (2017) highlights how many children, poor women and men are weeping for the dream betrayed, and the increasing levels of abuse of power by political and business elites. Ramphele (2017) further goes on to indicate that the abuse of power and the neglect of ordinary citizens, ANC veterans and stalwarts by politicians and business elites has also led to even ardent supporters of the ANC admitting that the party of Nelson Mandela has gone astray. We ought to bear in mind that such die-hard supporters, veterans and stalwarts of the ANC sacrificed their youth, families and often their lives for democracy. However, the freedom they sacrificed for is being trampled on by the current leadership of the ANC. In her discussion on how the current ANC has betrayed and neglected ordinary citizens, Ramphele (2017) singles out Jacob Zuma and his administration, arguing that this leadership has played out all the nightmare scenarios of an untouchable government, which consisted of high levels of abuse of power.

Ramphele (2017) further states that this betrayal and neglect of ordinary citizens by politicians and business elites affects people from the public and private sector, and, most importantly, young people (youth). Many young people are crying out for help as they are living in poverty, struggle with high unemployment rates, and their dreams have been shattered by school systems captured by corrupt teachers and education officials which results in poor quality education and training. More than three million young people between the ages of 15 and 24 are unemployed, not in school or

training. These young people are from rural and poor urban settings and families where there is no working adult (Ramphele, 2012). The unemployment rate for 15 to 24 year olds was 51,3% in 2010 and 29% for 25 to 34 year olds (Ramphele, 2012).

Schools in townships and rural areas have less resources such as running water, toilets, textbooks, and teachers who are often absent, come to class drunk and unprepared. Such unprofessionalism displayed by a teacher often leads to some learners dropping out in search of a better life outside of school. Ramphele (2017) points out a very interesting fact which is that of analysts wondering why the majority of citizens voted for the ANC one day and then destroyed public property the next day in an angry response to government failures. This is an example of how the government keeps the citizens dependable, hopeful and powerless people who turned into its voting fodder. Protests against poor service delivery from education, healthcare to housing have become events for the destruction of public property.

All of the above mentioned as argued by Ramphele are evident in the Daveyton community as shown in *Yizo Yizo (1999).* In *Yizo Yizo (1999)*, we witness scenes of disruptive, rude, poor, hopeless and violent iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities who are criminals, while others are just innocent orphans who lost their parents to HIV/AIDS. The Supatsela High School is a poorly serviced and neglected township school with incompetent teachers who can't draft a timetable (case of Ms Louisa Tlali), and includes corrupt teachers who are close associates of the community's well-known drug-lord, Bra Gibb, who uses his mules and teachers to sell drugs at the school. In *Yizo Yizo (1999),* households and families are headed by single parents and at times children or relatives (grandparents, uncles, and so on). This relates back to the way Ramphele (2012) indicates how such dysfunctionality with the black family system came about. Papa Action and Chester's behaviour, mannerisms and conduct are justified as they are from families were manners weren't taught, they lack parental love and affection as they are very cruel, aggressive, wild and have no love, respect and care towards others, especially females. The manner in which they control and rule themselves is also justified by the fact that they are from families where they're in charge and are feared as they control themselves and spend most of their time on the streets.

The community of Daveyton, as shown in *Yizo Yizo (1999),* is impoverished and impacted by crime, rape cases, violence and a very high unemployment rate. Most of the characters are unemployed and rely on welfare to maintain their families, while some rely on crime or illegal activities as a source of income. Thiza is a typical example of the above. He lives with his granny, who relies on the old age

grant, and his older sibling, Zakes who is also in the drug business. Javas' father is an old man who is unemployed and part of the community's police forum. Other characters are just mere employees at local salons, domestic spaces and so on. An example is that of Mantwa's, a Supatsela female learner, whose mother who is illiterate and works in the domestic space. The unemployment rate, poverty, struggle and levels of hardship are very high and intense in *Yizo Yizo (1999)*, which draws us back to Ramphele (2017) who states that the current (post-1994) ANC government has neglected and betrayed its people who were part of the struggle.

Background and context of *Yizo Yizo* (Season 1)

Yizo Yizo (1999), according to Barnet (2004: 258), was a drama series commissioned by the SABC in collaboration with the South African government with the objective of addressing issues of teaching and learning environments in South African townships. *Yizo Yizo (1999),* can mean 'that's that', 'this is it', 'the way it is', or 'the way things are'. Directed by Teboho Mahlatsi along with Angus Gibson and Produced by Desiree Markgraaf under the production companies of Laduma Factory and Bomb Shelter Productions, *Yizo Yizo (1999)* was first aired on SABC 1 in February 1999 and featured 13 half hour episodes in its first season. February 2001 saw the introduction of Season 2 which consisted of 1 hour long episodes of *Yizo Yizo (1999),* then the introduction of Season 3 which first aired in April 2004. The study will only pay close attention to *Yizo Yizo (1999)* Season 1.

Reason for only choosing Season 1 of *Yizo Yizo*

Season 1 and 2 *of Yizo Yizo* focus on more or less the same themes and characters and are still based and shot in Daveyton and Supatsela High School. However, Season 2 is continuation of Season 1. Two reasons why the study only focuses on *Yizo Yizo* Season 1, is that of its theme, and the role and nature of iscamtho and flaaitaal speaking characters in Season 1. The theme and nature of *Yizo Yizo (1999)* pays attention to and alerts the audience about the issues learners in township schools face such as that of rape, bullies and disruption in schools, gangster-ism, lazy and incompetent school teachers. Most importantly, Chester, Papa Action and Bra Gibb are the main theme and cynosure in Season 1. The role and lifestyle of iscamtho and flaaitaal speaking characters in Season 1, as compared to the other seasons, is another factor which led to the study focusing on Season 1.

Season 1 *of Yizo Yizo (1999)* is mostly shot and centred around Supatsela High School and most of the time addresses issues facing learners, the youth at large and the education system within black townships and rural spaces. These issues include difficulties from female learners as they face challenges coping with the high levels of sexual harassment and rape from fellow male learners and non-school learners, and also how victims of such acts could get assistance. The scenario of Hazel being raped by her boyfriend Sonny-boy, and that of Dudu being raped by Papa Action has significantly affected the lives of these young girls. However, as a result of them opening up, they were then assisted. Bullying, disruption in schools and gangster-ism are other themes which were performed by the iscamtho speaking characters Chester and Papa Action, who were out of prison, and is another reason why the study chose to focus heavily on Season 1. The emphasis on incompetent, lazy and corrupt teachers in Season 1 of *Yizo Yizo (1999)* is another reason. Most importantly, the study focuses on Season 1 of *Yizo Yizo (1999)* as the roles and lifestyles of iscamtho and flaaitaal speaking characters are different to that of other seasons.

In Season 1, Chester and Papa Action are not in prison, as compared to Season 2, and live freely in the streets and express themselves. This helps the study observe such iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities in their natural lifestyle, unlike when they are in prison. In Season 2 of *Yizo Yizo (2001),* Chester and Papa Action are in prison where there is no freedom of movement and expression, Chester has been raped various times and converted to a wife (female) in prison by 'Ma-Thousand'. Papa Action also meets new associates in prison and no longer hangs out with Chester, thus, they are both living separate lives. Season 2 makes it challenging for the study to meet its main objective as the characters needed for the study are locked up in prison. In Season 1, Bra Gibb is also the centre of attention, and his drug business affects the whole Daveyton community and Supatsela High School, and he is so powerful that he has the whole community in the palm of his hands. In Season 2, Bra Gibb also gets arrested and is absent from the screens. This results in his business and his mafia character diminishing, making it difficult for the study to observe that bossy, cruel, mafia flaaitaal speaking character.

Bomb Shelter Productions

Rooted in the South African experience and energised by local talent since 1997, Bomb has created ground-breaking television dramas, documentaries, commercials and museum installations, consistently achieving record breaking audiences. At the helm of Bomb Shelter Productions', based in

Randburg, creative compass is Angus Gibson, Teboho Mahlatsi, and Desiree Markgraaf, who all have a very rich history when it comes to film.

Angus Gibson is a company director of The Bomb Shelter Film Company (Pty) Ltd and was a founding member of Free Filmmakers, a film co-operative established in 1985 to create relevant South African cinema. He produced and directed many documentary projects for European television – including the highly acclaimed *Soweto: a history*, and *7 Up South Africa* , the South African chapter of Granada Television's flagship documentary series *14up*, *21up* and *28up*, all of which won awards in South Africa and Britain. *28up* was nominated for a Bafta (British Academy Film Award). He co-directed the authorised biography *Mandela, Son of Africa, Father of a nation* for Jonathan Demme's production company. This was nominated for the Oscar and won the Amnesty International Media Spotlight Award and the Pare Lorentz Award. Gibson has co-created, produced and/or directed multiple award winning television dramas including *Yizo Yizo (1999), Zone 14 (2005), Isibaya (2013), Ayeye (2015), Heartlines (2006),* and *Isthembiso (2017) t*o name a few. He created 70 audio-visual installations for the Apartheid Museum which is the most visited museum in South Africa. He designed *Telling the Truth?*, a permanent installation on South Africa's Truth & Reconciliation Commission which was selected to represent South Africa at the Venice Biennale. His feature film *Back Of the Moon (2019)* has recently been completed. He is in development of an epic drama series *Shaka Ilembe,* set to be released in 2002/2023, which tells the story of one of Africa's greatest kings.

Teboho Mahlatsi, company director of The Bomb Shelter Film Company (Pty) Ltd, completed film school at the Africa Cultural Centre in 1993. His debut short film, *Portrait of a young man drowning (1998)* won the Silver Lion at the Venice Film Festival in 1999. He was the co-creator and director on three seasons of the South African television phenomenon, *Yizo Yizo (1999*), a youth drama series that garnered the highest ratings in the history of South African television. At the Cinema Tout Ecrand Awards, *Yizo Yizo (1999)* won best International series. Teboho was invited to the Sundance writer and director lab with his first feature film script *Scar* in March 2002. Teboho was presented the Tribute entertainment achiever of the year award by President Thabo Mbeki. In 2018, at the Usiba Creative and Cultural Industries Awards, hosted by Arts and Culture minister Nathi Mthethwa, Teboho was honoured for ground-breaking work in the Audio-visual and Creative field. His short film *Sekali Le Meokgo (2006)*, which he wrote and directed, premiered in Venice and went on to win multiple awards. Teboho has become one of South Africa's most sought after, award-winning commercials directors but remains central in the creation of Bomb's various drama series including *Jacob's Cross*

(2007), *Isibaya (2013)* and *Ayeye (2015)*. He is in development of the epic drama Shaka together with Angus Gibson.

Desiree Markgraaf, a partner and CEO of The Bomb Shelter Film Company (Pty) Ltd, is a highly regarded show runner and producer. She has been at the forefront of creating some of South Africa's most successful television content, including *Yizo Yizo (1999), Zone 14 (2005), Jacob's Cross (2007), Isibaya (2013), Ayeye (2015), Heartlines (2006), Isthembiso (2017)* and many more. She is the co-producer of *Amandla: A revolutionary in 4 Part Harmony*, winning two coveted Sundace Awards as well as wins at the Emmy's, Telluride, Black Reel, Encounters and many more. Desiree is committed to producing world-class Africancontent, nurturing local talent and telling local stories with authenticity. She is a co-founder of Filmmakers against Racism and has produced over 70 video exhibitions Installed at the Apartheid Museum and Lilies-leaf Museum, as well as many for the Hector Peterson Museum. Desiree served as chairperson of the Independent Producers Organisation (IPO) and as council member of the National Film and Video Foundation. Desiree is a Fellow of the Africa Leadership Initiative and a member of the Aspen Global Leadership Network.

Other works (films, soapies, adverts and dramas) produced by Bomb Shelter

One important observation to make is that Bomb Shelter Production represents the voice of the unheard, oppressed, and silenced, addressing issues mostly affecting the poor in black societies. In all, or most, of their films, dramas and soapies, Bomb Shelter Productions addressed issues affecting the lives of citizens in a democratic South Africa, ranging from crime, unemployment, HIV/AIDS, education, poverty, and neglect by the government, amongst many others. Though most of its productions seem to be ridiculing and negatively representing Black images, in reality they represent a true reflection of lives of citizens in their respective geographical locations and it is up to the audience how they digest and perceive these representations. Thus, the productions by Bomb Shelter are, in most cases, not fantasised pieces of work with content that is like paradise where all is well. Instead, they are a true reflection of the issues faced by citizens in democratic South Africa. Even though this may be the case, this chapter takes issue with their association of Iscamtho characters in ways that lack reflexivity.

Productions by Bomb Shelter include *Yizo Yizo (1999), Zone 14 (2005), Jacob's Cross (2007), Isibaya (2013), Ayeye (2015), Heartlines (2006), Isthembiso (2017), Soul Buddyz Season 5 (2013),* and *Sekalli le Meokgo (2006).* All of these are black dominant cast dramas, where each addresses issues faced by

blacks within a particular setting, atmosphere and world. *Zone 14* (2005), for instance, is a drama shot in the neglected, congested and historical Orlando East Township. Amongst other issues address in the drama is that of love, life, and, most importantly, how blacks have to struggle first and go the illegal route in order to achieve their dreams, obtain wealth and get happiness. *Zone 14* is named after the location and section in Orlando East where the show is shot. In it, soccer players of Tiger Boys FC work hard and tirelessly to get professional contracts, while some go to the extent of using muthi (juju/witchcraft) to succeed. Ntate Moloi is an old black masculine identity who runs a funeral as a cover for his drug business. Over and above, the drama is just about the everyday issues and factors affecting the residents of Orlando East and other black townships.

One of the most interesting productions by Bomb Shelter is that of *Isibaya (2013),* shot in Thukella Valley and Protea-Glen, which got the whole country talking. People were intrigued with the content and theme of *Isibaya (2013*) which centred around life within the taxi industry and the rituals performed in order to run a successful taxi business. *Isibaya (2013*) contained scenes of how powerful traditional witchdoctors and taxi owners are associated and how their chemicals and muthi can turn someone into what is called '*Umkovu'*. The story also informs the audience of how important traditional doctors (*Inyanga*) and witchdoctors are to people within the taxi industry, especially taxi owners, as well as to those within Zulu society. It shed light on how powerful these people are as they can do anything from curing to killing and also protecting. In *Isibaya's (2013)* black masculine identities are negatively represented though their negative representation is also a true and an unexaggerated representation. Throughout all their productions, Bomb Shelter's mandate seems to be in reflecting the reality of black lives in townships, suburbs, rural areas and informal settlements and at the same time addressing issues faced by these people within their communities, thus, indirectly sending a message to the government and audiences. Though black images are most of the time negatively represented and seem to be negatively handled by Bomb Shelter Productions, the intention and mandate is to reflect reality and send out a message.

Yizo Yizo's (1999) main mandate and objective was to educate, entertain and to bring attention to schools in the community. There was a realisation that the government alone cannot solve problems in education and that public involvement and participation was needed. The main ideology, intention and purpose of the production was to reveal the depth and complexity of the crisis facing South African schools, with the hope of modelling a process of action to create and sustain a culture of learning and teaching, and stimulate a discussion of key educational issues (Barnet, 2004:259). *Yizo Yizo's (1999)* storyline covers topics such as sexual harassment,

drug abuse, violence and rape, with its focus being the lives of teachers, learners, and parents of Supatsela High School and Daveyton. The impact of *Yizo Yizo (1999)* showed that despite criticism, it attracted the largest audience for a drama at that time and was seen as enlightening in that it promoted dialogue in schools, families and the media. Research also showed that Yizo Yizo (1999) contributed to breaking a cycle of ignorance and denial among parents as it brought real issues that young South Africans faced to the fore. However, there were concerns that young people watching the programme were being attracted to the lifestyles of the bad characters portrayed in the drama.

The cast of *Yizo Yizo (1999)* was a predominantly black cast based in the township of Daveyton. Such a cast consisted of isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sesotho speaking characters, with the township vernacular of tsotsitaal used extensively in *Yizo Yizo (1999).* The main characters and cast of Yizo Yizo consisted of the Nyembe family which included Javas aka Jabulani; and The Nonyane family which included Thabo also known as Thiza. Other main characters included that of Chester Serote, Ben ‘‘Papa Action’’ Mokoena, who were Bra Gibbs stuur-boys. These were problematic, troublesome characters, considered as societal ills and Iscamtho speaking masculine identities. Other characters included that of Hazel, Numsa, Mantwa, and Dudu who were female characters attending Supatsela High School. Then there were Bobo and Sticks, two orphans who lived together, and Gunman, a youth activist, whose uncle spent years fighting in the ANC’s struggles for liberation, who all went to Supatsela High School.

Iscamtho speaking characters in *Yizo Yizo* and how they are interlinked

The main focus of the study is on Chester and Papa Action, though other iscamtho speaking characters will also be observed so as to highlight and strengthen the argument of how iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities are negatively represented in *Yizo Yizo (1999*). Another reason behind observing other iscamtho speaking characters is to illustrate how they all interlink and relate as a result of their behaviour and lifestyle. The use of iscamtho, though viewed as a language associated with the bad boys and includes swearing, is important in creating authentic representations and cannot be overlooked. The deployment of iscamtho, a colloquial and slang language, instead of a standardised indigenous language is simply a reflection of the language spoken by the majority of township high school youth.

Chester and Papa Action both work for Bra Gibb, selling drugs and as stuur-boys. They are also learners at Supatsela High School. They discipline anyone who messes up with Bra Gibb, and those who do not oblige by his orders. They recruit male identities (including learners) to sell drugs on their behalf, resulting in them humiliating or threatening anyone who objects to assisting them to sell drugs, such as in the case of Bobo and Thiza. Bobo and Thiza were both disciplined by Chester and Papa Action after refusing to further assisting Chester and Papa Action sell drugs. Bobo was humiliated and disciplined by having his face flushed (baptized) in the school toilet full of faeces. Thiza was forcefully brought back and threatened to work with both Chester and Papa Action, and his brother Zakes, was shot by Chester as a warning to Thiza not to mess with them. Chester and Papa Action were societal ills and public enemies as they disrupted classes, carried guns to school, and disrespected teachers, learners and everyone. They hardly attended classes, and when they did they would cause havoc and disruption. Other scenes witnessed Papa Action raping Dudu, a female learner at Supatsela High, along with Chester. Chester and Papa Action used to also rob and hijack people at gunpoint and also killed a shop owner, putting the blame on the resistant Thiza.

Bobo and Sticks are iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities who are orphans and live together. Their parents died from HIV/AIDS, leaving them to go through this struggle on their own. They both rely on the money Bobo makes from selling drugs and from the little that Sticks generates form selling sweets and snacks at school. They are not problematic characters but their challenges leads to them being suspicious and becoming societal ills based on their struggle as they are negatively represented. Sonny-boy is just a taxi driver who goes around preying on young school female learners in exchange for money, gifts and protection. He raped Hazel with whom he was in a relationship after Hazel refused to sleep with him. Sonny-boy once went to the extent of almost being involved in a shootout with Chester after coming to Hazel's rescue, as she was being harassed by Chester during a netball game.

Thiza, who lives with his grandmother and brother, and Javas, who lives with his father, are just ordinary school learners who try by all means to be good citizens. However, Thiza is trapped in between the life of trying to be a good boy and that of being part of the bad boys' crew consisting of Papa Action. Gunmenis a male school learner who is very active and obsessed with politics and Umkhonto we Sizwe. He even has an AK47 gun tattooed at the back of his head. He is just one of those learners who are politically active and a take no nonsense type of guy when it comes to dealing with corruption, crime and criminals, both at school or in the community. All these characters are

interlinked by the language they use, share one or two characteristics and behaviour, and are almost all represented in a similar way though they have committed themselves to different lifestyles.

The questions which will be addressed in this chapter include the following: to what extent could the destabilisation and dysfunction of African family systems be an explanation for iscamtho speakers' unruliness and violence? Could the violence amongst iscamtho speakers be as a result of improper upbringing and feeling of neglected by the ruling government, which leads to black on black violence? What could be the ideological and indirect implications behind the representation as it plays around language hierarchies, where one language (flaaitaal) which is closely affiliated with the oppressive white-man (Afrikaner) is associated with powerful and wealthy old grey-haired black masculine identities while the latter is associated with poor, visionless, uneducated, violent, rude young black masculine identities? To what extent could the representation be an indirect and ideological reflection of the pre-1994 South African language hierarchies, and how is the representation a form of addressing issues faced by ordinary citizens in the most neglected and poor black townships?

Rationale

Most research studies, such as those by JanMohamed (1985), Hall (2005) and Creeber (2006) focus more on the impact of a text on the audience and the audience perception of particular text, rather than the textual narrative making up the programme. Text rom various television programmes play a particular role in influencing the behaviour and lifestyle of the targeted audience. It also plays a huge role in interfering with the belief, perception, and views of the audience based on what is represented. Though it is quite important to critically analyse television or media texts based on perception and impact analysis, which seeks to understand the main impact of the message decoded by audiences, it is also important for research studies to apply the narrative analysis of media text. This looks into how the perceived impact and perceptions were achieved. This study, using the narrative analysis approach, looks into the way iscamtho speaking black masculine identities are represented as more negative and inferior when compared to the flaaitaal speaking old grey-haired black masculine identities.

Representations of black images throughout the world, from Hollywood, America, Europe to Africa, has been mis-handled and, to some extent, has seemed to be a pandemic as it seems to be the norm for black images to be negatively represented. In South African television, film and other visual media, black images are constantly represented negatively. Though reflecting real life situations, the media

always negatively constructs black images. The study will look at how the image of black youth in Y*izo Yizo (1999)* are constructed (represented and portrayed) and normalised, and how construction signals certain messages affecting the youth and broader society. The reason for this direction is to understand and look into the drive behind the representation of black image in *Yizo Yizo* (1999). The study will examine whether such a representation is informative and a true reflection of life in a South African society in the late 1990s and early 2000s or merely an exaggerated negative representation of iscamtho speaking black masculine identities.

The main idea behind studying negative representation of black images in the media is to illustrate how black images and youth languages are manipulated by the media throughout the world and understand the reason behind such representations. And, most importantly, how such a study is unique compared to others, though it still looks into youth languages and black images in the media. Further questions relate to the supposed reality the production is set to be depicting. Does African and Black reality need to be predicated upon negative manipulative representations of black images and youth languages? This chapter will look into whether the intention of such representation was that of a reflection of reality, with the aims of addressing and informing citizens about issues relating to and affecting the youth and schools in townships. Or whether is just an exaggerated and negative representation of black images along with youth language in township schools.

The main objective of this chapter is to address to what extent the deploying of a certain language with particular characters can be an indirect message regarding the speakers of that particular language and also a reflection of language hierarchies in pre-1994 and post-1994 South Africa. Another objective is to indicate how the representation of *Yizo Yizo (1999)* is an outcry by citizens to the government as a result of the difficulties and challenges the youth in black townships are facing.

The reasons behind this approach and choice of analysis is to get a better understanding as to why iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities are depicted negatively and as inferior compared to the flaaitaal speaking old grey-haired black masculine identities. It is quite rare to find studies specifically looking into how particular characters are associated with certain languages based on their behaviour and lifestyles and what hidden, indirect and ideological meaning is behind such representation. As indicated above, most studies focus on the impact value, especially on audiences, of a television text compared to the impact of the text, either intentionally, unintentionally, directly, indirectly, ideologically, or strategically. The uniqueness of this study is as a result of its focus on the

association of particular characters with a particular language and what this could reveal of the historical and current language hierarchies in South Africa.

Most works o*n Yizo Yizo (1999),* such as Barnet (2004), Mhlambi (2010) and Smith (2000), focus heavily on the perception and impact analysis whereas others are merely an analysis or retelling of the series (drama), highlighting important points and themes of discussion. None of the studies on *Yizo Yizo (1999)* focus heavily on the style of language used by particular characters and what could be the reason behind this. Instead, these studies focus on the impacts of *Yizo Yizo* on the audience, what the drama achieved and what the drama addresses. Barnet (2004), in his work, focuses more on the achievements, positives and impacts of *Yizo Yizo* (1999). Smith (2000) also focuses on the overall reflection of *Yizo Yizo* (1999) and does not focus on the critical aspect of the texts.

Yizo Yizo (1999) has succeeded in creating new knowledge, especially for adults, concerning the conditions of the country's school system, opening up sensitive issues such as sexual harassment, gangster-ism and drug abuse to debate. *Yizo Yizo (1999)* succeeded in creating an unprecedented level of public debate, both about the state of education in South Africa and about the role of television representations of social issues. Much of this debate was sparked by criticism that the series glamourized violence and gangster-ism, presented black communities in a negative light, and used unacceptably graphic representations of sex and bad language.

Youth Subculture theories: Response to marginalisation

Since the 1990s, the term subculture has been used in a broader perspective to explain any group of people who adjust to norms of behaviour, values, beliefs, consumption patterns, and lifestyle choices that are distinct from those of the dominant mainstream culture. The term subculture applies to any group of individuals whose behaviour differs from the rest of society. Examples of such subcultures include religious subcultures, immigrant subculture, drug subculture, criminal subculture, amongst many other subcultures. Nwalozie (2015) defines subculture as the lower, subordinate, or deviant status of social groups, which are distinguished by their class, ethnicity, language, poor and working class situations, age or generation. Subcultures are, thus, groups of people that are in some way represented as non-normative and marginalised through their particular interests and practices, through what they are, what they do and where they do it.

Such groups feel marginalised because of their life situation, and as a result they exhibit negative behaviour. Such groups are known for their cultural identities which mark them out and distinguishes them from other groups. These cultural identities include common language, dress-code, criminal or non-criminal behaviour and so on. The emergence of the subculture was as a result of youths from lower socio-economic status who struggled to achieve success compared to youth from middle-class families and societies. It was as a result of this inability to achieve success which led to their involvement in subcultures so as to find success and status enhancement.

In *Yizo Yizo* (1999), iscamtho speaking characters such as Chester, Papa Action, Sonnyboy, Bobo and Sticks are young black masculine identities from lower socio-economic status families who struggle to make it in life as a result of the hardships and life challenges they face on daily bases. This includes a lack of proper and full support from their families. Unemployment, poverty, HIV/AIDS, and dysfunctional families results in these iscamtho speaking characters being involved in certain subcultures. Therefore, this chapter, with the application of youth subculture theories, will discuss what could be the main ideology and intent behind such a representation amongst young Iscamtho speaking black masculine identities in township spaces. It willfurther examine what ideology and message is being told to us about the birth and emergence of tsotsitaal in township settings and how it emerged as a corner culture.

The main focus of this chapter will be on how these young black masculine identities associated with iscamtho are depicted as those who are powerless, poor, visionless, are controlled and employed by flaaitaal speaking counterparts. By zooming into Iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities, the chapter will not shy away from the representation of flaaitaal speaking old, grey-haired black masculine identities and how the latter are depicted as much better off than those who are Iscamtho speaking black masculine identities. It will also analyse how such implicitly recast (remake) South African racial politics as these play themselves out between Afrikaner males and Black males.

Drawing from Mhlambi (2010), the study will correlate the behaviours of both Chester and Papa Action to factors such as unemployment, poverty, lack of education, dysfunctional families and the overall marginalised black world, and how such factors as indicated by Mhlambi (2010) could play a huge role in explaining their behaviours and conduct. Chester, an uneducated iscamtho speaking young black masculine identity, is one of Bra Gibb's right hand man (thug, stuur-boy) and very unruly, violent and disruptive. Papa Action is more or less Chester's successor or mentee as he was introduced (recruited) to Bra Gibb by Chester and in most cases follows Chester's orders (Bra Gibb's orders

through Chester). The still clips in Figure 8 page 76 are an analysis of how unruly, disrespectful, arrogant, uneducated, rude and problematic Chester is. These clips are derived from Episode 1 Season 1 of *Yizo Yizo (1999)*, where Chester invades the Supatsela High School to go check up on Papa Action and to stir up and cause tensions, instability and corruption.

Committed to the life of crime, alcohol, drugs, abusing others and that of flashy cars and women, in Episode 10 (09:52 to 13:28 minutes), Papa Action and Chester, invade the Supatsela High School premises in a flashy red BMW 325is. Upon entrance of Supatsela High School they decide to drift the 325is next to the classes causing havoc and disturbance to everyone. This results in everyone coming outside to witness the scene caused by Chester and his crew. Mr Mthembu tries to calm the situation but Papa Action jumps off the drifting 325is carry a gun and threatening Mr Mthembu by pointing the gun at him within the school premises in front of everyone. The tension calms as a result of Zakes, Thiza's brother, coming to the rescue and chasing Chester and the crew away. Zakes is a very well-known, influential, and powerful man who runs a panel beater shop, and is also an associate of Bra Gibb.

After this incident, the students alongside members of the community decide to team up and put an end to the intolerant behaviour and conduct of Papa Action, Chester and the crew, by marching to the streets in search of them and their drug warehouse. They then end up catching Papa Action and hand him into the police. Later on in that episode (22: 37 to 23:42 minutes), Chester avenges his arrested friend, Papa Action, by shooting Zakes who insulted him earlier at the school premises and whom he also believes is the one responsible forarresting Papa Action. Such iscamtho speaking black masculine identities further get things out of control by brutally killing a shop owner by shooting him in the forehead in Episode 11 (20:13 to 21:40 minutes). They then force Thiza, whom they abducted, to confess and agree that he is the one who killed the dead man.

These iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities are nothing but toxic and troublesome individuals who make life a living hell for the residents of Daveyton, especially learners of Supatsela High School. They wander the streets of Daveyton doing nothing but selling drugs (mules) for Bra Gibb, they do not believe and invest their time in education but rather destroy the future of Supatsela High School learners by raping, harassing and selling drugs to them. They disturb their learning time by gate-crushing and invading the school premises to cause havoc, chaos, instability, corruption and, most of all, they instil fear and sadness within learners and school teachers. They are what we call 'public enemies', as most people seem not to be fond of them as a result of their behaviour and how

it affects the rest of the community. Throughout *Yizo Yizo* Season *1 (*1999*),* iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities show signs of hopelessness, visionless, being violent and forceful, being disrespectful to anyone, being from dysfunctional families, and unstable family structures where order and manners are not instilled.

Though Bobo and Sticks are learners at Supatsela High School and are committed to their studies, to a certain extent, they still have doubt and disbelief in ducation. However, they trust in money and the kind of flashy life made of money and luxuries acquired quickly. This has led to Bobo admiring the lifestyle of both Papa Action and Chester, which results in him being one of their drug-pushers. Sticks, on the other hand, is selling sweets to school learners so as to make ends meet. In Episode 11 (from 09:48 minutes till 10:34 minutes), Ms Cele asks Bobo what he wants to be after school. To everyone's surprise, Bobo responds that he thinks that he won't be employable or employed, he then goes on to say that regardless of a curriculum vitae, most of his classmates won't get employed. However, he adds that there's one guaranteed job which is certain, and that is crime. The whole class laughs at Bobo's statement and take it as a joke but in reality, that's what happens to most learners. The still clips from Episode 11 Season 1 *of Yizo Yizo (*1999*)* are attached in the flaaitaal analysis section.

The above representation of black masculine identities has been argued and illustrated by many theorists, such as Brown (2008), Gray (1995), Buasch (2013) and Craig (1992), who hold that black images have always been negatively represented in the media, especially television. Black masculinity is always associated with negative-ness and depicted as trouble and a public enemy, on television. It is thus a norm and a tradition that black masculinities are societal ills and public enemies and to some extent a bit toxic to the broader society. Such is witnessed in most American films and gangster films, where the black man is always the bad guy. Other films include that of *City Of God (2002*), *Tsotsi (2005*) amongst many other films. Such a tradition, norm and strategy has been long going on within the film and literature industry, dating back to films such as '*The Birth of a Nation' (2016)* amongst many other films. As also stated in JanMohamed (1985:64) that in most instances the European (owners of production) writers and also filmmakers commodifies the black masculine identity by negating his individuality and his subjectivity, so as to be recognized and seen as a generic being which is no different than all the others (his fellow blacks). Thus, leading us to the conclusion and belief that 'all black masculine are the same', as they are ruthless, careless, public enemies, criminals, not intelligent and so on, as a result of what's been portrayed to us by films, dramas, soapies and various other media platforms.

Themes to be covered: *The unruly, violent and uneducated tsotsis (iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities)*

The themes to be covered and aid the response raised by this chapter are that of the iscamtho speaking young black masculinities being unruly (disruptive and disrespectful), violent, and uneducated. Unruliness, a lack of education and proper skills, and violence by the iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities will assist in explaining and unpacking how such behaviour could result from destabilized and dysfunctional family systems within black societies. This is the result of the youth feeling neglected and betrayed by the ruling party in a democratic South Africa. Violence as a theme will also assist in tackling and unpacking the issue of the language of the oppressive native white Afrikaner associated with powerful and wealthy old, grey-haired black masculine identities versus that of South African indigenous dominant tsotsitaal associated with poor, visionless, uneducated, violent, rude and young black masculine identities.

Chester and Papa Action (*Double trouble) : Daveyton and Supatsela High School's nightmare*

Aspects which the study aims to raise in relation to Chester and Papa Action are that of being violent, uneducated and unruly iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities. Chester and Papa Action are violent in a sense that they are both involved in violent acts towards others from time to time in the *Yizo Yizo (1999)* episodes. Such violent acts include that of killing a shopkeeper for fun, bullying and harassing a man, Mr Dlamini, who owed bra Gibb, carrying guns to school, and threatening, bullying and harassing school learners. Both Chester and Papa Action are uneducated and do not give a damn about education or school. They simply go to chool for the sake of going and also to cause havoc and destruction at Supatsela high School. They are both criminals who trouble the community and recruit (lure) more innocent learners to be like them, sell drugs and perform criminal activities. The chapter will provide various examples of the unruliness, violence and lack of education displayed by Chester and Papa Action from scenes and episodes of *Yizo Yizo (1999).*

Iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities being unruly (disruptive and disrespectful)

Throughout Season 1 of *Yizo Yizo (*1999*),* iscamtho speaking characters possess characteristics of beingunruly, disruptive and disrespectful, compared to the flaaitaal speaking old, grey-haired black masculine identities. The level of unruliness, disrespect and disruptiveness of these characters is beyond repair and unbearable. This raises concerns as to what could be the cause of such conduct. Chester and Papa Action are two iscamtho speaking black masculine identities who possess such characteristics and the chapter will zoom into their behaviour to look for possible reasons behind it. The selling of drugs, alcohol consumption, not wearing uniform at school, disrespecting and back-chatting at peers, elders and teachers, and raping and harassing of female learners by both Chester and Papa Action are some of the topics which will be covered under this section. In response to such, we will look into how such conduct by Chester and Papa Action could be the result of destabilised and dysfunctional family systems within black societies, as a result of the youth feeling neglected and betrayed by the ruling party in a democratic South Africa. The analysis below consists of clips illustrating the unruly behaviour displayed by both Chester and Papa Action.

Unruliness behaviour amongst iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities and to what extent this could correlate with the destabilised and dysfunctional family structures

Figure 8: ***Yizo Yizo (1999) Episode 1 Season 1 (17:00 minutes to 18:10 minutes) still clips***





The above still clips from Season 1 Episode 1 of *Yizo Yizo (1998)* takes place inside the Supatsela High School facilities (yard). Chester jumps out of his flashy, convertible, red BMW gusheshe 325IS, dressed in flashy clothes, jewellery and shades. It is before the start of classes and learners are queuing outside as Chester walks towards his friend Papa Action and they both greet one another. Within a blink of an eye, the principle (Mr Mthembu) arrives and conversation goes as follows:

Chester: Aah Papa Action killer my killer.
Papa Action (to Chester): Chester bab'wami my father, ndoda engo mfowethu. Bowukhupi sonke le sikhathi. Bowukuphi sonke le sikhathi mpintshi yami. Iskathi sokuthi zonke lezithipa ngithi zonke le'ithipha zizwe ngawe. Sifile leskolo, this school is dead, ngithi this school is dead.
(Chester my father, a man who's is my brother. Where were you all along/all this time my friend. It's about time that these fools must dance to you tune. This school is dead (times 3).

Within that moment Papa Action goes towards a female learner in the que and harasses her but the principle, Mr Mthembu, comes to the female learner's rescue. The principle lightly slaps Papa Action on his back and its only then Papa Action steps away from the female learner which he was harassing in the form of forcefully cuddling and kissing her.

Mr Mthembu: Chester Serote.., what are you doing in my school.
Chester: Uyazi yini lombuzo ongibuza wona unzima ukuwu phendula ungishaya dizzy phuma gim/kim *(You know what that kind of question which you're asking me is really difficult to respond to, it actually puzzles me, so leave me alone)*
Mr Mthembu (to Mr Nkambule who's alongside him): Mr Nkambule please see him (Chester) out of my school.

As Mr Nkambule approaches, Chester, with attitude and arrogance, shoves Mr Kenny away before he even moves an inch towards him.

Chester: Whooaa yini manjeh…Lethal Weapon part 1 and part 2 (then whistles and turns away, towards his car)

(*Whooaa wait what's this now…, Lethal Weapon part 1 and part 2).*

Chester walks towards his vehicle and drives off leaving everyone stunned and shocked, while some female learners such as Mantwa are impressed and attracted to Chester's overall behaviour and appearance at the school.

This scene indicates and explains the kind of family structure or setting Chester draws from. The level of disrespect and unruliness displayed by Chester towards the teachers, learners, and the school in general indicate that manners are not something Chester has been taught at home. According to him, it's not that much of an issue to disrespect elders or anyone. The level of disrespect and unruliness by Chester is unbelievable and such conduct could well be explained by the dysfunctional and broken family structure of Chester's home where love, care, bond, intimacy, respect and time are absent. Such unruliness and conduct towards others, especially elders, could be the result of a broken family structure, where Chester is a victim of improper upbringing, thus, manners and respect are new to him. Chances are that as a result of the absence of Chester's family (parents) on screen, one can assume his parents have been absent from a very young age, and he was raised by relatives or it could be possible that he was a street child who had no one until bra Gibb groomed him. His parents could also be working far away in domestic spaces, factories or mines, thus, not having the privilege to monitor and bond with him. One other reason for such behaviour from Chester could be as a result of his parents lacking the basic attributes of a parent (such as being drunkards, or ill-disciplined), thus, failing to reach out to him or being unable to discipline him from a very young age. Ultimately, Chester's unruliness and misconduct can better be explained by a destabilised and dysfunctional family structure and it is very unlikely that he is from a well-mannered, respectful and disciplined family as his unruliness and ill-discipline are beyond repair.

Unlike Thiza (Thabo) and Javas (Jabu), Chester seems to be from a broken and disturbed family structure where elders do not monitor the behaviour of the younger ones nor teach them basic manners. in the reason for looking at Thiza and Javas is that they're both from fairly well-structured families where the elders monitor their day to day behaviour, are very strict and want the best for

their children. Javas is a well-mannered learner who lives with his strict, traditional and well-respected father who instils discipline on Javas to the extent of lashing him if he misbehaves. Thiza, on the other hand, is from a very well-disciplined family, which includes his grandmother and elder brother (Zakes). He is one person who respects others and believes in education and love. Though he was once part of Chester's crew, he left them and repented, though was later forced and threatened by Chester to be part of his corrupt, disruptive and unruly crew.

Another act of unruliness is that performed by Papa Action in the Supatsela High Schoolpremises during school hours. Dragged in by Shakes (one of Papa Action's stuur-boys), Bobo is brought to Papa Action, who's waiting for him in the school toilets, so as to be disciplined. This is as a result of Bobo's refusal to be Chester and Papa Action's drug pusher (mule). The happenings of the scene are in Episode 1 Season 1 of *Yizo Yizo (1998)*, from 11:04 minutes to 12:08 minutes.

Bobo (to Papa Action): Papa Action bengisacela ucolo tuu. Bengicela ungangiphindi.
(Papa Action please forgive me. Please don't punish me again).
Papa Action: Ucedile *(Are you finished).*
Bobo: (Nods his head indicating that he's not finished).
Papa Action: Shakes, akumfake laa.

Shakes drags Bobo into the toilet as Papa Action takes a chain so as to scare Bobo more.
Papa Action (to Bobo): Ngena *(Get in).*

Bobo goes into the toilet and kneels downs near the toilet seat and puts his head into the messy toilet seat full of faeces (remains).
Bobo (responding to Papa Action): Ok
Papa Action (ordering Shakes to flush the toilet with Bobo's head inside): Shakes awu-mthate. *(Shakes take him).*

Shakes flushes the toilet with Bobo's head inside, thus messing up Bobo with the faeces that was in the toilets, as Papa Action chants and Shakes follows and backs up.
Papa Action: Ka lebitso…. *(In the name)*
Shakes: la ntate. *(Of the father)*
Papa Action: Egameni… *(In The name)*
Shakes: lika baba. *(of the father)*

Papa Action: Egameni..*(in the name)*

Shakes: Lika moya..*(the spirit)*

Papa Action: lika Satane. Idla your nja. *(and Satan. Eat you dog).*

Figure 9: Are still clips of *Yizo Yizo (1999)* in a scene where Papa Action bullies (as a way of teachin him a lesson not to mess up with him) Bobo.





The above scene indicates what we call total ill-discipline and a definition of a very disruptive, ill-mannered, vision-less, attention seeking, neglected and unhappy black masculine identity. Papa Action's behaviour is far from that of an ordinary high school learner, instead, is that of a notorious, unlawful and unruly tsotsi who cannot do anything except making the lives of those around him a living hell. As a tsotsitaal (iscamtho) speaking black masculine identity, Papa Action is a typical example of Mokoni's (2017: 281) definition of a tsotsitaal speaking individual. Mokoni (2017: 281) defines a typical tsotsitaal speaking individual as those predominantly engaged in criminal activities. Thus, tsotsitaal was initially a language of the young urban youth who were termed 'tsotsis', and Papa Action is typical example of a '*tsotsi in a school uniform'.* Papa Action is again caught in action causing trouble along with Chester towards the end of Episode 1 Season 1 of *Yizo Yizo (1999), when* they hijack a school material delivery vehicle.

Chester'sunruliness, disruptive behaviour, arrogance, disrespect, and rudeness are further witnessed in Episode 6 Season 1 of *Yizo Yizo (*1999*)*, where he visits Supatsela High School to see newly placed principle, Mr Kenny, who's also a close associate of Bra Gibb. He instructs him to admit him and be officially recognised as a learner of the school from that day. This was planned by Bra Gibb in order to use Chester to strengthen his drug sales at Supatsela High School.

The scene takes place in Mr Kenny's office and Chester arrives suddenly, carrying a gun at his waist, wearing a red bucket hat, sunglasses, black Nike vest and All Star Converse shoes. In he scene (from 13: 28 minutes to 12: 50 minutes) Chester instructs Mr Kenny (school principal) to admit him to the school, though Chester is a thug who has no previous school records or minimum requirements of admission to high school. Mr Kenny hesitates due to his failure to produce any required documents. In response, Chester tells him that it's Bra Gibb who sent him. Mr Kenny immediately admits Chester without any hassles or further request for any documents. This indicates signs of an oppressive and mafia type of man who instructs people what to do and imposes his orders on others without choice. He expects his order to take place without his power and authority being disrespected or underestimated, by anyone. Below is the clip followed by the conversation between Chester and Mr Kenny Mokoena:

Mr Mokoena: Do you have you have last year's results with you?.
Chester: (dressed in flashy clothes and jewellery): Ayikho Maneer. *(It's not here Meneer).*
Mr Mokoena : Testimonial from your previous school?.
Chester: Aaah ngabe ngi'qamba amanga. *(I'll be lying Meneer, No I don't).*
Mr Mokoena : A letter from your parents?.
Chester: Eish maneer ngathi ungifuna izinto eziningi. *(Meneer you're asking me for too many things now).*
Mr Mokoena : Then you want me to admit you to the school?. '
Chester: Aaha wu Bra Gibb ofuna ungithate ku le skolo nyana sakho. Huye ongithumile la. (*No, it's Bra Gibb who wants you to admit me at (to) this school of yours. He sent me here).*
Mr Mokoena : (Smiles) Why didn't you say so in the first place?
Chester: (Turns around, showing Mr Kenny a gun). Ngoba azange ungibuze kwase'qaleni. *(Because you didn't ask me in the first place).*

Figure 10*: Yizo Yizo (1998)* still clips for Episode 6 Season 1









Chester illustrates unruliness, disorder, ill-mannerism and an uneducated iscamtho speaking young black masculine identity. With no previous school records, testimonials or reports, Chester expects to be admitted as a learner at Supatsela High School, without any intention of learning but only of being disruptive and a huge problem to the Supatsela High School learners and teachers, alongside his mate Papa Action. As a result of both the depiction and analysis of Chester and Papa Action's behaviour we can then relate to the work by Msimang (1987). Msimang (1987:82) indicated that the tsotsi community consisted of street corner delinquent teenagers who lacked proper upbringing and socialisation. These youth turned into tsotsis as a results of being orphans, and as a result of not being fully equipped educationally and, thus, not being fully-literate, and lacking in professional skills.

In Episode 7 Season 1 (4:23 minutes to 05:30 minutes; and 06:00 to 07:09 minutes) of *Yizo Yizo (*1999*)* Chester has been admitted to the Supatsela High School through the orders from Bra Gibb to Mr Kenny (newly appointed principal). Mr Kenny is an associate of Bra Gibb and also part of Bra Gibb's BMW club. As an official learner at Supatsela High School, Chester and his crew have chosen a spot within the school yard where he parks his car, drinks alcohol, sells and consumes drugs. This scene sees Chester, his crew, with Thiza and Papa Action, chilling inside the BMW drinking and smoking and not in uniform. This spot is used to sell the drug business which belongs to Bra Gibb. Papa Action

further uses this spot to intimidate and threaten other male learners and refuses them access to the school toilets and terms this spot 'Papa Action's office'.

Figure 11: Still clips of a scene where Chester and his crew have found a spot within the school premises where they spend all day drinking and smoking instead of attending classes.



These iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities seem not to be aware that they're being misled by their boss Bra Gibb, who gives them influence and power by providing them with flashy cars and weapons. They think they have it all, but they're gradually losing it all as they do not take school seriously, they hijack and rob people, they bully and disrespect others, and there is nothing positive about their lives except for making life a living hell for others.

Papa Action, in Episode 9 (06:34 till 08:40 minutes) interrupts a class by jumping on top of the table and forcing everyone in the class to sing. As the class is singing, he jumps off the table and grabs a female learner, dragging her out of the class, carry an opened condom. Though Ms Tlali tries to stop Papa Action and rescue the girl she fails as he overpowers and threatens her. It was Thulas, one of the male students, who came to the girl's rescue as he stopped Papa Action as he was dragging the girl away. Papa Action's unlawfulness, ghetto-ness, rudeness and ill-discipline have gotten out of hand.

Since the arrival of Chester at the school he doesn't even wear his school uniform but wears gangster-like and informal clothing. Below is the dialogue followed by the still clips of the scene described above.

Papa Action (speaking to one of his friends): Awu beke njeh, ulwisa wonke amalungelo wethu (referring to Ms Tlali, who is teaching). Yazi yini mfana…Asiyi jike yonke lento le simpendule i-peackock.
(Just look she's violating our rights You know what son lets change things around..and turn her into a peacock (make her look like a peacock).

Papa Action stands up along with his friend, and he climbs on top of a table next to where he was sitting.

Ms Tlali : Wena Kgape *(You again).*
Papa Action (starts singing to the class): Mawe….. (9 times). aYeboo…culani.. voetsek culani nonke. The class joins him, by force and not through their consent or will. Mawee..mawee.. mawee ..mawee…….

(Oooh Yess.. sing .. sing all of yous)

Papa Action approaches two female learners and tells them to sing, before approaching the female learner whom he'll try to rape.

Papa Action: Hey, culani ..culani maan..heyyy culani maan hey voetsek. (*Hey, sing man..hey sing..sing hey *swearing/vulgar**)

Papa Action jumps off the table and orders the class to sing, whilst he heads to a desk where a female learner is seated.

Papa Action (to the female learner): Sukuma..sukuma..sukuma maan. Bamba la (offers his hand to the female learner)..your rubber-neck. *(Stand up..stand up..stand up*
Hold here..your rubber-neck).

As Papa Action is about to leave the classroom with the learner, Ms Tlale interrupts.

Ms Tlali (to Papa Action): Ye wena phoofolo ke wena, omo isa kae ngwana eo wa bathu.

(You animal, where are you taking that girl).

Papa Action: Waitsi ke eng mam? ao relax eke safe blind. Relaxa o bofe lepondo Papa Action o tla o styla. Or wa e batla? Wa e batla?.

(You know what ma'am?, just relax I'm safe. Do you also want this (showing her an opened condom).

Papa Action along with the female learner.

Papa Action : Woza.. woza maa your shit. Hey shisha maan. Hey thula..e maan voetsek. Ye wena yini ngawe?. U funa ngiku lande ufuna ngiku lande?.

(Come. Hey hurry up. Hey shut man. Whats wrong with you? You want me to fetch/drag you).

As Papa Action is walking with the female learner, Thulas notices such and comes to the rescue thus stops Papa Action from harassing the learner.

Figure 11*: Yizo Yizo (1999)* still clips for Episode 9 Season 1





Papa Action's conduct in the above scene is unbelievable and raises concerns about what could be behind such intolerable, embarrassing and disgusting behaviour from a young black masculine identity. The answer is simple, and is the result of a dysfunctional and destabilised family structure where too many things happening within the family. This could, indeed, affect such black masculine identities spiritually, emotionally and psychologically, playing a huge role in affecting their behaviour towards others as they are not at ease and peace. One thing which *Yizo Yizo* (199) failed is to illustrate the reasons behind such behaviour of characters like Chester and Papa Action. Alternatively, it could have made visible to the audience the families and homes of these characters so as to gain an understanding out of something visible and empirical.

The violence amongst iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities

Chester and Papa Action, along with Sonny-boy, showed some form of violence in particular episodes. To some extent, this also included very extreme violence such as that ofkilling and raping women. Violent acts by these iscamtho speaking characters include high-jacking and physically bullying others. For example, the case of Papa Action bullying Bobo in the school toilets. The scenario which occurred at the netball court duringa netball match at Supatsela High School when Chester, Papa Action and Sonny-boy incited violence and threatened one another with their guns. Violence of such nature by these three iscamtho speaking characters requires explanation and the root of such violence needs to be resolved. This will aid in allowing us to understand how such violence could be the result of their improper upbringing, or the feeling of betrayal and neglect by the ruling party in a democratic South Africa which leads to frustration and indirectly incites black on black violence.

Another act of violence is witnessed in Episode 1 (from 12:46 to 13:18 minutes), when Papa Action walks confidently accompanied and bracketed (protected and backed up) by his two stuur-boys, Shakes being one of them.

Papa Action (referring to all the learners in the que): Ya nina malala krons (translated as: *You're stupid, all of you*).
Papa Action: (as he stops at one of the male learners, Thulas, also in the que): Yaah wena your father christmas, your rubber-neck. What kind of a new student in my school?.Umdala kanjeh u funani la eskolweni?. Haah usilethele ama present? (times 2).

(Yaah you Father Christmas, your rubber-neck. So old, what are you dong in my school?. Haah you brought us presents.., haah you brought us presents? (times 2).

As Papa Action is harassing the learner, Mr Mthembu and Mr Nkambule come to the rescue, as they were doing a walk around the school observing the situation as it was the first day of the academic year.

Mr Nkambule (to Papa Action): And what is going on?.
Papa Action: Maneer, just welcoming a new student.

Figure 12: *Yizo Yizo* (1999) Still clips for Episode 1 Scene (12:46 to 13:18 minutes)



Papa Action's behaviour is a depiction of an unruly, disruptive, rude, mood-spoiler, unhappy, troubled young black masculine identity who seems to be from a very dysfunctional family where he has been neglected and not given attention. Throughout *Yizo Yizo* Season 1, all he does is bring trouble, sadness and fear to most learners (especially females) at Supatsela High School. Thus, he is a very disturbed and troubled individual who needs attention and some form of support from his loved ones. However, they are not introduced or shown to us in Season 1, but in Season 2, we are introduced to his mother who seems to be a single parent. In Episode 1 Season 1 (from 10:57 minutes till 12:08 minutes), Papa Action again continues with his bad behaviour as he humiliates Bobo by flushing his face in the toilets.

If one asked what are the factors behind this behaviour by Papa Action, the response would absolutely be the kind of family he comes from or the way in which he was brought up and raised, and the society

around him which might make him feel neglected. This behaviour is intolerable from anyone and could be termed as behaviour which is disgusting and shameful to witness. Especially when it happens within school premises and by a learner who's supposed to be focusing on his studies and his future, instead of focusing on the drug trade within school premises. Papa Action's family structure is to be blamed or at least helps us explain where this behaviour stems from and what is the family doing to make sure Papa Action is well-behaved outside his home. In addition, one wants to understand what is the family doing to assist Papa Action gradually repent from such behaviour or heal from what might be the causal factor of such behaviour. An example would be the loss of close family member/s or loved ones by Papa Action. Thus, this behaviour could be a form of communication asking for help. Papa Action feels neglected by society and this neglect could be the same felt by the broader society of the government. Thus, everyone feels neglected and betrayed. Papa Action is a symbol of a neglected black masculine identity by his loved one and feels betrayed as a result of being loyal to his loved ones. First of all, Papa Action seems not to have a father figure and this could have destabilised his mind as he feels betrayed by his father or those who are responsible for his father's absence.

The acts of violence continue outside Supatsela High School in and around the Daveyton neighbourhood when Chester (eating an apple) is having a chat with his girlfriend, who seems to be oppressed and threatened by Chester, whilst Papa Action is in the background. The camera shifts to a man in a white van who is lost and asks two females directions to the Supatsela High School. The man in the vehicle sounds like a Pedi speaking black masculine identity who seems to be in his late 40s or early 50s. He seems lost and not from the Daveyton area which gives Chester and Papa Action cause to attack and take advantage of him. The conversation in the scene goes as follows:

Chester (to his girlfriend) : Bewukuphi wena izolo mengikufuna?(where were you yesterday when I wanted/needed you?).
Girlfriend : U mama wam bekangithumile. (My mom sent me to the shops).
Chester: Ku mele uhambe wena ubuyele le eVoslorus. Uyabona le ndabanyana yakho. (I think you should go back to Voslorus, because this thing of yours).
Girlfriend : Bekumele mangasa ngithumi ekhaya. (So meaning they should not send me anywhere to buy things, at home).
Chester : Ngiz'kshaya. Awungicabuze *(I'll beat you. kiss me)*
As Chester kisses his girlfriend and then stares at her, the man in a white vehicle (Venture) stops by and greets the two females who were walking by.
Man in a vehicle : Hello bana. Ke kgopela ho botsa na Supatsela Hgh School emo kae.

(Hi kid. May I kindly please where is Supetsela High School)l.

By identify and noting that this man doesn't belong in the neighbourhood, Papa Action alerts Chester by whispering. Chester, without wasting any time gets ups, reaches for his gun on his waist and rushes to the man in the vehicle and points the gun at him, opening the door of the vehicle.

Chester : suka suka wena, hey phuma wena, Phuma sdudla phuma. Squatta laa squatta la wena. *(Get out fatty get out. Squat here squat on your knees).*

Chester and Papa Action drag the man out of his vehicle, making him crawl and making fun of him. Chester, pointing the gun at the man, gives him R10 taxi fare and then shoots a warning shot in the air as the man runs off. This happens in broad daylight with people watching but doing nothing to help the poor man who is being humiliated. This illustrates the level of hopelessness, visionless, and unlawfulness amongst iscamtho speaking characters who are still very young. Although they have the potential to go far in life, they have given up and committed themselves to the life of crime, regardless of Papa Action being a learner at Supatsela High School.

Figure 13: A scene where Chester and Papa Action hijack an old man who came to deliver learning material at Supetsela High School.





This lifestyle of these young iscamtho speaking black masculine identities can be understood as explained by Mhlambi (2010) when she discusses the marginalised black world and the white world. Mhlambi (2010) indicates that it is as a result of the existence of both worlds which instigated black on black crimes within black societies. This is the result of poverty amongst black societies and neglect of particular racial groups which then results in them being helpless and having no one to turn to besides themselves and those around them. Thus, on the one hand, such a marginalised black world as Daveytonand neglect by the government alongside poverty could result in young Iscamtho speaking black masculine identities turning to crime as a way out of the struggle and poverty. Such a microscopic view on both Chester and Papa Action is as a result of them being close to Bra Gibb, who is a flaaitaal speaking old, grey-haired black masculine identity.

This representation of Iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities, namely Chester and Papa Action, is explained by Mhlambi (2010), Glaser (1964), and Molamu (1987). They all examine how particular social structures, such as dysfunctional and unstable family structures, unemployment, lack of proper education, and a marginalised black world within black communities play a huge factor in behaviours of iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities. Chester is a black masculine identity who is uneducated, a serial criminal who always carry's his gun with him, is ready for anything, a drug mule, and, above all else, very rude and lacks manner. Thus, all of Chester's personality traits justify the arguments by Mhlambi (2010), Glaser (1964), and Molamu (1987).

In Episode 8 (from 06:58 to 07:38 minutes), Papa Action rapes Dudu, who screams helplessly, in a space full of chicken cages, with Chester watching and chanting '*iyoooh kolokoko iyooh kekeleke iyoooh akafe baba akafele izono zakhe kekeleke baba iyoooh*. It all beganinanearlier scene (from 05:30 minutes to 06:21 minutes) where Papa Action, along with his crew, are outside a shop in the neighbourhood, when Dudu bumps into him. Out of the blue, Papa Action is next to Nomsa trying

to stop her, though Dudu seems not to have any interest or intention of speaking to Papa Action. Papa Action then grabs Dudu and points to the car where Chester is standing. He then tells Dudu that she'll jump into that car by force. He rushes to the car to fetch his gun and drags Dudu towards the car. Although Dudu tries to escape, she runs out of luck as the other members of Papa Action's crew surround her. The behaviour of these iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities is beyond repair and very toxic to the whole of Daveyton society. They do as they please and justice seems not served; discipline is not instilled as these criminals always get away with their illegal and criminal activities. This also applies for Sonny-boy, who, from Episode 6 (21:50 to 3:19 minutes) makes the life of Hazel a living hell as he forces her into sexual intercourse and rapes her in his taxi. In the very same episode, Chester and Papa Action harass Dudu who felt so threatened and indicated to her friend Mantwa that she no longer feels safe as a result of what Papa Action and Chester had done to her. Such behaviour is that of someone who feels neglected, left out and discriminated to some extent by society.

Figure 14: *Yizo Yizo (*1999*)* still clips for Episode 8 Season 1



Uneducated iscamtho speaking black masculine identities

In *Yizo Yizo (*1999*),* most iscamtho speaking characters are uneducated and lack vital basic life skills, such as that which will assist them in making a living, participating economically. For those still at school, not all of them have faith in education and that it can improve their lives for the better. An example is that of Bobo who has lost all faith in education to the extent that he mentions in class, when asked by his teacher what he aspires to be when he grows up, that he wants to be a thief as education does not pay and doesn't believe he'll be able to get a job even after being educated. Furthermore, when asked why he stole one of his fellow classmate's personal belongings, Bobo responded that in this economic crisis people are forced to steal due to the hardship people are bearing. Another example which speaks volumes on the way female learners end up not having faith in education and, thus, commit themselves to older men with the hope that they'll take care of them. This is evident in *Yizo Yizo (*1999*)* when Sonny-boy, in a taxi along with Hazel and Mantwa, tells Hazel how pointless and useless education is and that she should only be concerned with living for today. This shows the lack of belief and faith in education iscamtho characters have, they do not appreciate education and, thus, is not as precious to them as crime.

This example is detailed below when Mrs Cele is teaching the class and randomly asking learners what they'd like to be when they grow up. Mrs Cele shifts her focus to Bobo and asks him what he desires to be after school life.

Mrs Cele : Bobo, what you wanna be?.
Bobo : Aaah mina ma'am ngicabanga ukuthi ngeke ngicashwe. (the class laughs).
(Aaah ma'am I don't think I'll be employed).
Mrs Cele: Ok. In any case if you apply for a job you'll need a CV (curriculum vitae), and this is what a CV looks like.
Bobo : Aaa mina mistress kimi kuyafana. Sonke nje ngoba si la ngeke siwuthole umsebenzi. Li one kuphela ijob ingesho ngalo mistress, uyazi yini?.. iCrime. (The whole class laughs).
(Aaah mistress to me it doesn't matter. Most of us here won't find any work. The only job you can be sure of is mistress, its crime).

Figure 15: *Yizo Yizo* (1999) still clips for Bobo



The neglect and betrayal of black and poor citizens by government could be one of the reasons characters like Bobo, Papa Action, Chester and Sonny-Boy have lost faith in education and see criminal activities as being the only solution from poverty, unemployment, and hardship. The betrayal and neglect by the ruling government includes schools in black communities without proper infrastructure and basic services, unemployment and poverty which leads to high levels of crime. Neglect of schools in black communities stems from the apartheid era policy of the Bantu Education Act which witnessed schools having very few resources, less infrastructure, a lack of basic services or enough teachers. Resources such as books, lack of teachers to cater for all classes, lack of school furniture and classrooms all played a huge role in providing evidence that the Supatsela High School pupils were neglected by the ruling government. As a result of this, it becomes difficult for dedicated learners to cope and endure such difficulty. For those who half-heartedly believe in education, it becomes very easy for them to quit or not take their studies seriously nor have faith in education as a key to success or the solution to the challenges which life will bring. The level of unemployment and poverty within the community of Daveyton in *Yizo Yizo* (1999), has played a huge role in sending out the message that the government has betrayed and neglected them. High levels of unemployment and poverty has led to high levels of crime and black on black violence within society. As result of this neglect and betrayal by the government what motivation is there for upcoming youth to believe in education as

their schools are in turmoil. They understand whether things at their schools are going up or down, progressing or not progressing. These are some of the reasons we end up having people like Bobo, Mantwa, Sticks, and Papa Action who have all lost faith in education. The only form of employment which is easily available for Supatsela High School learners is that of being recruited to sell drugs which seems to be making a lot of money and could be a solution to poverty and unemployment. In general, education in *Yizo Yizo* (1999) is only emphasised within the premises of Supatsela High School. Outside the school there's no one successful who is a product of education. This could be an indication that, indeed, in Daveyton, education is not the key to success but crime is. Lest we forget that the most powerful and wealthy person in *Yizo Yizo* (1999) is a well-known drug dealer and businessman, Bra Gibb. This speaks volume to school learners who wake up early to attend school daily but still faces challenges which are beyond their control. To tighten up such an argument of characters having lost faith in education as a result of neglect and betrayal by the ruling government, we further analyse a few scenes in *Yizo Yizo* (1999*).*

Analysis of scenes from *Yizo Yizo* of people having lost faith in education

It is Episode 2 (from 1:50 minutes to 02:35 minutes), it is early in the morning and people are preparing to go to work and school. The scene is in a taxi driven by Sonny-Boy and in the front sits Hazel having a light discussion. On the way, Hazel notices Mantwa and informs Sonnyboy to stop so Mantwa can jump in. Mantwa jumps into the taxi and sits at the front seat along with Sonnyboy and Hazel. The conversation goes as follows:

Figure 16: *Yizo Yizo (*1999*)* still clips for episode 2 season 1





Mantwa : eish sibuyele Sun City namhlanje.Eish phela lesa skole engathi yi jele. (*Eish we going back to Sun City. Eish that school is like a jail/hell).*

Hazel : Mara at last at least umuntu uzokhona ukufunda. (*At last at least I'll be able to learn).*

Mantwa: Hazel ama teacher ama phambili a khulume into ungayi understandi. Iyikho useful lento ebayi fundisayo. Haai Mina ngi khathele yi leskole, angeke ngiyi mele lento.

(*Hazel the teachers stand in the front and teach something you don't understand. There's nothing that they're teaching us. I'm really fed up with this school, I won't stand for this).*

Hazel: Uyabona Mina Mantwa ngizi misele ukufunda.One day ngifuna ukuba yi Economist.Ngizwele mme bathi if uphethe Le degree ye Economics uzo phila impilo entleh Kabi.

(You see Mantwa I'm prepared to study and learn. One day I want to be an Economist. I heard that if you have an Economics degree you'll live a nice life (have a bright future).

Mantwa: Haai chomie Mina ngeke ngize ngiyi mele leyo. Kumele ngiphilele inumhlanje ngoba ikusasa angazi lizo ngilethelani.

(*No friend I won't stand for that. I have to live for today because I dnt know what tomorrow has for me).*

Sonnyboy: Umgani wakho uright Hazel yazi. Kumele uphile for today ngoba kuyazi bani mhlawumbe ngeke uyibone ne tomorrow.

(Your friend is correct Hazel you know. You have to live for today because who knows, you might not even see tomorrow).

The taxi arrives at Supatsela High School and both Mantwa and Hazel jump out of the taxi. This scene illustrates how education is not valued even by learners who go to school and that negative attitudes towards education by learners is fuelled by people who aren't attending school, such as Sonnyboy. In this instance, Sonnyboy sounds like someone who has never regarded school and education as valuable. Thus, the consequences of not investing in education could be him stuck being a taxi driver

and an ordinary iscamtho speaking young black masculine identity who preys on young innocent girls and at times performs acts of thuggish behaviour. Mantwa, who is still a Supatsela High School learner. He is very negative towards education and has already lost faith in education, shifting the blame to Supatsela's teachers and their teaching methods. As a result of these perspective from Mantwa, Sonnyboy's influence and the events that take place within the vicinity of Supatsela High School, it is evident that education is not regarded as important and the key to most Supatsela learners or the Daveyton community at large. The number of dropouts and unemployed youth in the area, along with the criminal activities that take place convince us that education is not valuable to most people in the area.

The study will now touch on the flaaitaal speaking old, grey-haired black masculine identities who are close associates (mainly employers/bosses/superiors) of iscamtho speaking characters. In so doing, the study will look into such representation of these flaaitaal speaking characters and what hidden, indirect and ideological meaning could be behind this representation. Our main character is that of Bra Gibbs, who is a flaaitaal speaking old, grey-haired black masculine identity. Bra Gibbs is a classy, wealthy, powerful and influential man. He is also a mafia, an oppressor, and a very bullish boss who always has things done his way. Bra Gibbs is very much part and parcel of all the societal ills within the Supatsela High School and the community at large. This is because of his remote control of characters like Chester, Papa Action and Mr Kenny. Bra Gibbs is a very wealthy businessman with two daughters studying in Cape Town, and he is also a very powerful drug lord. In short, Bra Gibbs monopolised and captured the whole community, especially those with links to Supatsela High School by selling drugs and recruiting the most notorious and ruthless Iscamtho speaking characters to be his eyes and ears (stuur-boys) in and around the community. To illustrate who Bra Gibbs was, the study will analyse the *Yizo Yizo* episodes looking at the behaviour and usage of flaaitaal by these black masculine identities. Prior to that, we look briefly at how Bra Gibb reflects, resembles, and re-enacts characteristics of the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity of the apartheid era.

How the representation of flaaitaal speaking characters reflects that of Afrikaans and old, grey-haired ordinary masculine identities of the apartheid regime.

In most South African soapies and dramas, Black masculinities associated with flaaitaal are negatively represented. These characters are old, grey-haired black men who are regarded as societal ills due to

their greediness, aggressiveness, cruelness, oppressiveness of the other, and them being dictators. These characters are not well received and are neglected by broader society as a result of their personal character. This can be correlated with that of the Afrikaans language and its native speakers, which were once opposed and are still neglected mostly by the non-White South African society, especially the Blacks. Events such as the Soweto Uprising of June 16, 1976, illustrates the rejection and opposition of Afrikaans within Black society. In *Yizo Yizo*, the Supatsela High School, along with the broader society, revolted against Bra Gibb since he was an ill to their society.

This goes hand in hand with how the youth of 1976 revolted against societal ills of the Apartheid era, including gangster-ism and, most importantly, Afrikaans. Another correlation is that of native Afrikaans speakers being the minorities in terms of population. Equally, the number of flaaitaal speaking characters in South African dramas and soapies are minimal. For example, out of 20 dramas and soapies, only two flaaitaal speaking characters will be present whereas the rest will be iscamtho speaking characters or characters that speak other standardised African Languages. This indicates the insignificance or extinction of Afrikaans in a Post-Apartheid Era compared to the Apartheid era when Afrikaans was the dominant language economically, administratively, legally, in the media, politically, educationally and socially. The chapter will now look into how Flaaitaal speaking characters, the case of bra Gibb, resemble and reflect the character and mannerisms of the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity. This is largely as a result of his behaviour towards others and as a result of the language he's associated with which is relative to that of the Afrikaans language.

Bra Gibb, a white man in a black skin (Umlungu omnyama): An ideological alibi for Afrikanerness

Colonial Discourse theory will be of importance when correlating the similarities between bra Gibb and that of the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity of the apartheid era. Applying what is termed ideological alibi, we will look at how and to what extent Bra Gibb resembles and re-enacts that of the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity and to what extent he is an ideological alibi of an ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity. Colonial alibi, derived from the Colonial Discourse Theory, looks at the way the association and adaptation of language by colonial subjects serves as an ideological alibi for colonialism. The adaptation and association of an Afrikaans dominant tsotsitaal syntax by old, grey-haired black masculine identities serves as a typical example of a colonial subject who serves as an ideological alibi for colonialism. Bra Gibb possesses and reflects personal traits of an ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity. His supplying and distribution of drugs to the community

of Daveyton and the Supatsela High School sees Bra Gibb as an economically well-off and powerful man, with employees such as Chester and Papa Action. When confronted to stop his sales of drugs at the school to innocent kids, bra Gibb responds by stating that all he's trying to do is make money for his children and doesn't care about other people's children. This statement along with is conduct are very close to that of the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity of the apartheid era. It reminds us how they cared less about non-white people and children, and only cared for whites, especially the Afrikaner. This was evident in, for example, the placing of non-white children in crowded schools with less resources and less skilled teachers in townships far away from city centres. This compared to the whites only schools in suburbs and city centres with great facilities, resources and very skilled teachers. This is also where we witnessed the Bantu education for non-white children, where Afrikaans was imposed as a language of learning and teaching, though it was viewed as the oppressor's language and a non-mother tongue to non-white children. In short, the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity of the apartheid era didn't care about anyone or anything except that which was white and Afrikaner, and would go to the extent of killing and destroying anything non-white.

Bra Gibb enacts and resembles the toxic white native Afrikaner masculine identity as a result of his self-centredness, bullyness, heartlessness, toxicity, cruelty and the manipulation of wealth. Such masculine identities would deal with anyone who opposes or becomes a threat to the apartheid system. These ways of dealing with those who do not cooperate with the apartheid regime system would include assassination (execution), imprisonment, and house arrest, amongst various other punishments. Bra Gibb and the toxic ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity share more or less the same sentiments of greediness, cruelty, heartlessness, being self-centred, bullishness and believing in violence as a way of sending a message to their opponents.. Bra Gibb and the Afrikaner masculine identities of the apartheid era government are both old, greyed-hair and associated with the Afrikaans language (and flaaitaal). Bra Gibb has his special spies, agents, stuur-boys, and hitmen who follow his instructions and orders and get any job task done as ordered by bra Gibb. This is much the same as the apartheid era government which would get their orders done by their special agents, spies and so on. The correlation and resemblance of Br Gibb and the Apartheid era government masculine identities will become clearer when looking into and analysing the behaviour and events involving Bra Gibb in *Yizo Yizo (1999).*

Analysis of *Yizo Yizo* flaaitaal speaking characters

Bra Gibb aka "once mistake one bullet": the man who makes things happen within a snap of a finger.

Bra Gibb is a wealthy flaaitaal speaking character who uses Iscamtho speaking characters Chester, Papa Action and other young black masculine identities to run his drug business. They especially supply the neighbourhood and Supatsela High School, as well as various other businesses including a tavern (sports bar). These Iscamtho speaking characters are sometimes used as hitmen and given orders, by Bra Gibb, to teach a lesson to anyone who seems to be a threat to Bra Gibb and his wealth at large. Episode 5 Season 1 Yizo Yizo (from 22:39 to 23: 56minutes) involves a scene where Bra Gibb is dressed in flashy clothes and having a drink with two ladies and Mr Kenny. Then enters Chester and Papa Action along with Mr Dlamini. Bra Gibb orders his employees (Chester and Papa Action) to discipline Mr Dlamini, a person who owes Bra Gibb some money but hasn't paid his debt. Below are still clips of the scene coupled with the conversation (dialogue) beneath.

Figure 17*: Yizo Yizo (1999)* still clips for Episode 5 Season 1



Chester: ''Bra Gibb… Bra Gibb nayi mbewu''. (Bra Gibb..Bra Gibb here's your old customer).

Papa Action: ''Beyi'cabanga ukuthi izophelea kuphi''.

(Where was he thinking he'd end up/He didn't know he'd end up here).

Mr Dlamini: (fearing for his life as Bra Gibb approaches him) '' Bra Gibb Grootman''. (Bra Gibb Big Man).

Bra Gibb : ''Eh ngitshele Bra uthini nge ngwece yam''.

(Tell me Bra what about my money).

Mr Dlamini: Bra Gibb ek sal jou cheer asseblief gee my a kans''.

(Bra Gibb please spare me/give me a chance I will pay ou).

Bra Gibb : (To Chester)'' Yezwa om Chester… be ngicela ukuthi ushayise uDlamini i-round''.

(You hear Chester.. please take Mr Dlamini for the last ride).

Chester : ''Ku bonga mina Bra Gibb. Asambe (to Mr Dlamini)''.

(Thank you Bra Gibb. Let's go (to Mr Dlamini).

The above scene illustrates the amount of influence, power, control and dictatorship Bra Gibb has over Chester, Papa Action and various other characters. Having a very nice time along with his associates, at his club/bar/tavern, Bra Gibb gets a surprise visit from Chester and Papa Action along with his long time creditor, Mr Dlamini. Bra Gibb then orders Chester and Papa Action to take Mr Dlamini for the last ride since he still doesn't have the money to pay back Bra Gibb. Last ride in this instance could be Dlamini's last ride which simply implies his last chance to live, thus Chester and Papa Action should end his life. Last ride could also imply that Chester and Papa Action should severely punish Mr Dlamini one more time befor releasing him. The way Chester and Papa Action harass and beat up Mr Dlamini as they put him in the back of the 325is vehicle boot, one would think that the world is coming to an end for Mr Dlamini.

Such events in the scene to a certain extent reflects the then mafia behaviour of the apartheid regime old grey-haired ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identities. During the Apartheid era activists and civilians who were anti-apartheid or opponents of the regime were often called up to secretive locations or paid a visit so as to negotiate and also warn them of their disruptive behaviour and how it disrupts the progress of the regime. Apartheid Spies and informants could also end up seeing themselves in such instances as a result of not delivering what is required and requested of them by the apartheid regime top dogs. Though such an example and illustration lacks depth and further references and real examples of such scenarios, one can just imagine and wonder what happened to the likes of your Steve Biko, Robert Sobukwe amongst various other threats and opponents of the apartheid regime. Could such anti-aparthei leaders and activists have been killed as a result of not surrendering to negotiate or agree with the apartheid regime top dogs and special forces, agents and so on?. Could all the missing, till date, anti-apartheid activists and civilians have also been gotten rid of as a result of failing to agree with what was offered by the regime front-runners and top dogs or failed to enter into negotiations?.

All in all, to what extent could the apartheid regime spies and informants played a role in selling out fellow anti-apartheid regime activists and civilian, to the apartheid regime top dogs and forces?, as they were in close contact with them and easily monitored their actions and movement. Many anti-apartheid ctivists and civilians were mysteriously caught and traced, could such be as a result of apartheid regime spies and informants in black societies?. The role played by Chester and Papa Action in Yizo Yizo could be that which was performed by apartheid special agents and forces but most importantly that which was performed by the apartheid spies and informants in black societies (townships). Such apartheid spies and informants were the 'stuur-boys'' of the apartheid regime top dogs, and their tasks was to be the eyes, ears and messengers of the apartheid regime special forces and top dogs within black townships. All of the above is simply another form of convincing that the representation of the old grey-haired flaaitaal speaking black masculine identity could to a certain extent be a mere ideological, strategic and indirect representation of the then old grey-haired apartheid regime architects who wer old greyed-hair ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity.

Another example of which highlights the power, and influence flaaitaal speaking characters have on and over everyone is evident later on in the same scene, from 23:20 minutes till 23:56 minutes. This is where Bra Gibb takes Mr Kenny outside where Chester and Papa Action are dealing with Mr Dlamini and shows him how he deals with people who don't pay him, since Kenny owes Bra Gibb a form of return the favour which is undisclosed.

Bra Gibb: ''Jy lyf my a (lyk my) bitjie ge-worry Kenny boy. Kyk hier-so moenie worry maan…seen mere mens never be worry bra-ze. Entlek ek dink daar is anner ways wat jy julle gaan skwaans verstaan moss.
(You look worried Kenny boy. Look here don't worry. I was thinking that there are other ways which you can pay me back/return the favour
Kenny: "Sshh..sho Bra Gibb".
Bra Gibb: ''Oh by the way…is dat congratulations I suppose know you could say you got the world at your feet mfana-kithi. (laughs)



This scene is an example of how Flaaitaal in Sophiatown held symbolic power for its speakers as a result of the dominant status of white Afrikaners, thus such indicates that Afrikaans had more to do with the rejecting of the old-fashioned rural-identities and adopting to urban identities, and such saw the emergence of terms such as ''auntie''and ''clever'' for urbanite males who spoke flaaitaal and ''mogoe'' or ''dzao'' for rural folks. In this instance, Iscamtho speaking characters would be those who are classified as mogoes or rural folks whereas the Flaaitaal speaking characters would be those classified as clever and civilized urbanites. Therefore, the kind of tsotsitaal spoken by one was the main classifier of whether one is a clever urbanite folk (tsotsi) or a mogoe and rural folk (tsotsi).In other words flaaitaal tsotsis regarded non-flaaitaal as moegoes and backwards and viewed themselves as clever, urbanites and street-wise, and civilized as they were associated with the white-man's language. Such simply implies that the white man will always be uperior, civilized, powerful, clever in the eyes of the black man and thus everything associated with the white man is superior and civilized as compared to that which is associated with a black man.

The association of Flaaitaal with such characters could be implying more than a mere entertainment, and that's how the research got to the point of being critically observant and investigate such a matter, as to whether can such representation be (simply a reflection) linked and associated with that of the Afrikaans native speakers. We need to bear in mind that tsotsis of the 1940s throughout the 1960s were merely formed of gangs with different agendas who saw themselves better off than other gangs, but all in all were tsotsis who were a threat to society at large and in some instance heroes, especially to the youths. By different agendas, we are simply referring to gangs who aimed at opposing apartheid, those who robbed and troubled the poor in townships, gangs who were about the flashy life of cars, women, and clothing, and many other agendas. A more relative example, from Yizo Yizo season one, of how such old grey-haired flaaitaal speaking black masculine identities had influence,

power and control over others by orchestrating events and things and how they dictate and impose their wishes to other characters, is that in episode 11.

Yizo Yizo (1999) still clips for episode 11 season 1



The scene (17:20 minutes to happens at bra Gibb's lavish home, in the evening. Bra Gibb is sitting in his lounge with his two beautiful daughters. Then Chester and his crew (three guys with Thiza being one of tem) enter the room.

Chester: ''Bra Gibbzo…..bra Gibbzo''.

Bra Gibb: ''Aaoww Man Chester''. U bekwa yini la edladleni lami mfanami?. And lezi mpanga mpanga a bo bani entlek''.

(Aaoww Chester. What brings you here at my house/place my boy. And who are these fools you came with?).

Chester (pointing at Thiza) : ''Aah la ehlisu 'moya bra Gibb i-twasa lam e lisha. Into engibeke la ukuthi ngifuna ama pilisi ngoba kuna bantu eku mele ngiba febe.
(Relax bra Gibb, this is my new recruit. What brings me here is that I need pills/drugs as I have a nation/people to feed).
Bra Gibb : ''Bheka lana mfana. As jou lank om te se that hier by my kushamba is nie besigheid nie verstaan. So (Ramos).
(Look here my boy. I told you that here at my house is not a place for business, jy verstaan. So get lost).

As Chester and his crew went out, Bra Gibb called Chester.

Bra Gibb : ''Eh Chester zwikila hier mpintshi yam. Angithi ngiku tshayele ukuthi chafkop. Maar awufuni ukuyi bamba because yazi why?, Le sa smogo sako se rape ngi si screbulile mfana, jy verstaan. But manjeh ngiku tshayeli into eyi one, more mistake uzo dliwa yizi nyoni mfana wam, jys uit.
(Chester come her. I told you to lay low. But you don't listen you know why?, that rape case of yours, I got rid of it. But let me tell you one thing, one more mistake you'll be eaten by the birds).

The scene above just indicates how powerful and influential these flaaitaal speaking characters are, to the extent that they even get rid of criminal charges of their workers (stuur-boys). A typical example and definition of a mafia is one who knows all and can do everything, Bra Gibb is one hell of a mafia who can reach the extent of getting rid of Chester's rape case. We all know how sensitive and serious a rape case is and how one cannot escape such a criminal offence, but Chester with the help of Bra Gibb escaped such and was a free man. This shows that Bra Gibb is a very powerful, influential and cruel flaaitaal speaking black masculinity who could even go to the extent of bailing his employees (stuur-boys) so as to protect his name, and preserve (save) his drug-dealing business. One the other hand, bra Gibb's influence and power is beyond dictating and imposing his wishes on people but that of ending one's life. Bra Gibb told Chester that he's not behaving though he has already bailed him out on his rape case, thus if Chester commits one more mistake or crime then he is out. Bra Gibb tells Chester that he will be eaten by the birds if he makes on more mistake, therefore Bra Gibb indirectly tells Chester that one more mistake he himself will make sure Chester is out and end his life.

Episode 9 (10:05 to 11:22 minutes) is where Bra Gibb is with Mr Maleka who's a teacher at Supetsela High School and one of Bra Gibbs agents or rathe overseer, such takes place at Bra Gibb's place. In this scene Bra Gibb orders one of his hitmen to go discipline Mr Thapelo Kapole (by hooting him), this is after a report to Bra Gibb that Papa ction (one of his workers) has been lashed by Mr Thapelo Kapole at school due to ill-discipline. In the same scene Bra Gibb introduces his two daughters to Mr Maleka (a schoolteacher who paid Bra Gibb a visit), who study at a private school in Cape Town. Such illustrates the amount of wealth and power Bra Gibb ha and the lavish lifestyle him and his family are living, at the expense of the poor masses in his surrounding since he uses them in the form of feeding (selling) them drugs, alcohol, and loaning hem money. Bra Gibb is the only flaaitaal speaking character who possess large amounts of wealth and oppressive power whereas the other African languages variety tsotsitaal characters are just mere employees and puppets, who are poo and live their lives accordin to the way their master wants them to live it.

Yizo Yizo (1999) still clips for episode 9







Bra Gibb : "Een van my laaities jys kom trek van skool af i entleke gekats van een van jou teezers. Ek kaan nie verstaan wat gaan aan.

(One of my boys came back from school. He was beate up by one of your teachers. I don't understand, what's going on?).

Mr Maleka : ''Jou Kind het ge delela daar by die skool. Wat moet ons maak? Hy moet ge punish word''.

(Your boy misbehaved. What were we to do?, he had to be punished).

As Mr Maleka was speaking, bra Gibbs' two daughters came to bid farewell to Bra Gibb.

Bra Gibb (t his daughters) : ''Aaah my diamonds..the apples oF my eye. They going to the Cape by die skool jy verstaan moss skube div daar alle daai goetes''. Say Hi to Mr Maleka. *(They are goin to the Cap to school. You understand All that scuba divin and so on).*

Two daughters (To Mr Maleka). ''Hi Mr Maleka''.

Mr Maleka : ''Hi Kids''.

Bra Gibb : "Ok fine get into your car please, will you''.

Mr Maleka : ''What are ou doing to our children?. What are you doing to our school?. You are these children drugs, you are killing them. Jy destroy them my bra want jy ken dat jou kinders is in private school''.

(You destroying them knowing that your kids are in private school).

One of bra Gibb's employees (stuur-boys) comes in and interrupts.

Bra Gibb's **employee** : 'heithaa eitha bra Gibbs. Ufuna uku si cava bra Gibbs". (Greetings Bra Gibbs. You wanted to see us).

Bra Gibb : '' Yaah kyk hierso iskathi si hambile mfana. Maak so, pick o Abul daarso daan gaan julle nou. Jy moenie laat wor nie". *(Yes look here it's getting late man/my boy. Do this, pick up Abul and go now and don't be late).*

***Bra Gibb's* employee** : ''Sure''.

Bra Gibb : ''Loop jy''. *(Hurry now).*

***Bra Gibbs* employee** (as he runs off) : ''heitaah eitaahbra Gibbs''.

Bra Gibbs : ''Eiitaah''.

Bra Gibb (to Mr Maleka) : ''Nou luister my hierso . Van jou een ding weet, ek niemand se kinders spele nie. Al wat ek doen is meering chisel vir my bambinos. So do me a gens autie ker hier.

(Now listen here. You should know one thing is that I didn't give pill/drugs to one's kid. All that I'm doing is making money for my kids. So do me a favour man, get ost).

Such a scene goes on to illustrates the mafia and mastermind Bra Gibb is as he orchestrates and dictates things behind doors in his home and they happen just like that within a snap of a finger. Such also indicates the level of cruelness and heartlessness of Bra Gibb as he feeds children in the township with drugs and also sends out his employees (stuur-boys) to shoot and discipline Mr Thapelo at Supatsela High School. This happens after Mr Thapelo gave a good hiding to Bra Gibbs stuur-boys, Papa Action, for harassing a female learner at the school, and also for interrupting lessons. Such a complaint reached bra Gibb's ears and within a day troops were sent out to Supatsela to shoot Mr Thapelo as a way of teaching him a lesson and disciplining him. Mr Maleka, a Supatsela High teacher, is seen paying Bra Gibb a visit to answer for the hiding which Papa Action got and such could be a concrete proof that Mr Maleka along with Mr Kenny form part of Bra Gibb group of associates and agents and to a certain exten a part of his payroll. Over and above, the scene indicates the kind of heartless, cruel, oppressive mafia Bra Gibb is and will do anything to protect what's and also that belongs to him and forms part of him.

One most important observation is that, by using language, some tsotsitaal speaking characters are well-off, possess high status, find life as meaningful, and have aspirations, as compared to those of Iscamtho whom seem to be living their lives according to that orders and regulations given by the Flaaitaal speaking characters. Iscamtho speaking characters seem to be living life just for the sake of living, and in most instances are involves in cleaning up the dirty work of their fellow flaaitaal speaking characters, and are in most cases quite poor and struggling. Both Flaaitaal and Iscamtho speaking characters are associated with negative black masculinities and being a menace to society, though the flaaitaal speaking character such as the case of Bra Gibbs turns out to not always be the public enemy as he has his messengers and stuur-boys who do the dirty work for him. Bra Gibb is therefore the

mastermind and orchestrator of most, if not all, of the societal ills but has Iscamtho speaking characters like Chester and Papa Action to go out into the battlefield and do the dirty work for him.

This is how the then old grey-haired ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identities who formed part of the apartheid era government and played a huge role in the orchestration of apartheid went about doing their dirty work or solving those who were a threat to them or the regime, by sending forces such as special and secret agents, police and army force, black police informants and spies and serial killers like Wouter Basson. Thus, flaaitaal speaking characters as much as the then old grey-haired ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identities who formed part of the apartheid regime aren't viewed that much as enemies and a threat by and to the broader society, but only the agents and forces who are always out there in the battlefield to cover their tracks. Thus, in Yizo Yizo, the society was more fed up and hated Chester and Papa Action more than Bra Gibbs as those were the two people who always threatened and troubled the community through terms and orders from Bra Gibbs.

Bra Gibbs as a flaaitaal speaking character was always indoors but orchestrating and dictating the behaviour and conduct of Chester and Papa Action out in the battlefield which thus makes them seem very inferior and passive to him (Bra Gibbs). Such is also the case with the apartheid regime where people (citizens) regraded the police and army forces, special and secret agents, and police informants and spies as enemies as they came more into contact with them and were often harassed, abused and killed by such individuals whereas the main orchestrators of such problems were up there in government offices dictating orders.

The above scene from Episode 9 season 1 of *Yizo Yizo (1999)* is an illustration of how the then apartheid architects imposed and dictated everything and everyone to be and do as hey dictated and instructed. In this scene Cheste plays the role that role of an apartheid agent, force or spy who will play the role of being the eyes, ears and messenger of Bra Gibb at the Supatsela High School. Such is for Bra Gibb to be well informed and updated of anything regarding him, his business, and associates at the school, and surroundings. The then apartheid architects and main drivers would also go to the extent of deploying special agents, forces, secret agents, and spies anywhere they felt there was a need or a threat so as to be one step ahead in case anything is plotted against them or the regime itself.

Such a scene also informs deep and indirect meaning with regard to tsotsitaal and its history, due to its association of Flaaitaal with wealth and power whereas Iscamtho is associated with low life,

visionless, slavery and that of being a puppet of the master (flaaitaal speaking character). In reference to the history of tsotsitaal (traditional tsotsis) such wasn't the case as they were just troublesome individuals who were viewed as societal ills and the unwanted and at times as heroes of the struggle against apartheid (and also the adorable ones due to their flashy attire, jewellery, cars, and lifestyle), but it was rare to find tsotsis who as powerful like Bra Georgie and also associated with Flaaitaal.

Flaaitaal versus iscamtho: How such representation of tsotsitaal speaking young black masculine identities implicitly recast (remake) South African racial politics.

As argued and illustrated by such a study that Flaaitaal speaking characters are depicted as those who are privileged, economically well-off, powerful whereas iscamtho are depicted as those who are unruly, violent, and uneducated. Such representation is to some extent implicitly recast of South African racial politics especially that of the Apartheid era. In response to and support of the above statement we refer back to Deurmart (2017) who pays attention to usage of Afrikaans in tsotsitaal and states that such could have broader and deeper unconscious meanings and ideologies such as that of cultural-linguistic appropriation or even parody, where the language of the oppressor is adopted as one's own and turning it upside down in the process. By focusing on hidden transcripts in such representation we will refer to Scott (1990) who focuses heavily into representations about a particular product, individuals (group) could have hidden meaning and ideologieswhich the investigator or audience (public) will find it difficult to access or interpret.

The main argument raised by such a study is how the representation of Flaaitaal versus iscamtho speaking characters is merely an indirect and an ideological representation of the South African racial politics of the apartheid era. Flaaitaal speaking characters such as bra Gibb are depicted as that who is very strategic, smart, powerful, economically well-off and a man with a plan for everything. Iscamtho speaking characters such as Chester, Papa Action and Sonny-boy are depicted as those who are poor, violent, unruly, and uneducated. Knowing that Flaaitaal is derived from Afrikaans and iscamtho from indigenous South African Languages, such representation carries deep meaning in relation to racial and linguistically politics in South Africa, especially that of the apartheid era. During the apartheid era ordinary native Afrikaners were well-off, privileged and favoured by the apartheid system whereas non-Afrikaner speakers were discriminated, unprivileged and oppressed. With the history of South African television and its scarce representation of tsotsitaal pre-1994, due to censorship, such representation could to a certain extent be a form of retelling the story of the apartheid era, how non-

Afrikaners were discriminated against, oppressed and unprivileged whereas native Afrikaners were we-off economically, oppressors and highly privileged.

In relation to the representation of tsotsitaal speaking characters in *Yizo Yizo (1999)* it becomes quite difficult to digest the images that Flaaitaal, although a youth language, is associated with old grey-haired black masculine identities whereas iscamtho is associated with young black masculine identities. As a result of such images it becomes quite difficult to make meaning out of such images or relate to such images as tsotsitaal was and is still youth language. Thus, such representation of tsotsitaal speaking characters could simply be a recast or indirect representation of reality especially that of the apartheid era where there was too much inequality amongst non-whites and Afrikaners, and such plays itself out in *Yizo Yizo (1999)* through tsotsitaal. As stated by Deumart(2017) the chapter argues that the association of Flaaitaal with old grey-haired black masculine identities could have broader and deeper unconscious meanings and ideologies such as that of cultural-linguistic appropriation or even parody.

The mannerism, behaviour, influence, power and wealth affiliated with Flaaitaal characters such as bra Gibb as indicated carries deep, unconscious, ideological and indirect meaning behind it and instead of associating an old grey-haired black masculine identity with Flaaitaal a young middle age black masculine identity could've have chosen since such is a youth language, for the youth spoken by the youth. The association of iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities with poverty, visionlessness, lack of education, violence and unruliness as indicated earlier on to a certain extent raises a debate as to what could such a representation be implying about young black masculine identities and speakers of such a language (or speakers of languages associated with iscamtho). As discussed earlier on about iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities such as Chester and Papa Action versus that of the old grey-haired black masculine identity, Bra Gibb, it is quite inevitable that some meaning or message is trying to be passed on to the audience about the racial politics in pre and post-apartheid South Africa, however such messages are indirect, hidden and strategically passed on. As a result, such representation of tsotsitaal speaking young black masculine identities implicitly recast (remake) South African racial politics.

Works on tsotsitaal only focuses on its origins, growth anddeath and hardly focuses on the difference between flaaitaal speaking tsotsis and Iscamtho speaking tsotsi. As a result, it becomes quite problematic and questionable as to why tsotsitaal Afrikaans syntax speakers are depicted as the wealthy and powerful characters whereas the African Languages dominated tsotsitaal characters are

depicted as those with a low life with no dreams and visions but that of dedicating their lives to serve their masters, which is the flaaitaal speaking characters. With such an observation, comes to a point where one correlates such representation of flaaitaal as that which typifies the ordinary Afrikaans native speaker, since the languages and characteristics are relative to some extent though black masculinities are used.

In post 1994 South African television, all flaaitaal speaking black masculine identities have been associated with power, influence, wealth and depicted as those who are greedy, mafias, cruel, monopolisers who have the world at their feet. Such could indirectly and ideologically imply certain reflection or send out a particular message regarding the language and its people at large. Compared to the representation of flaaitaal speaking characters in pre-1994 films like *Mapantsul (1987)*, the representation of flaaitaal speaking characters in post 1994 South African television is more critical and quite shady, ideological and indirect as compared to that of pre-1994 films like *Mapantsula (1988)*. *Mapantsula (1988*) imply played around the two types of tsotsitaal speaking characters, flaaitaal and iscamtho, with the flaaitaal speaking character a bit stylish, street-wise, bossy, and wiser and nothing more than . Both tsotsis were typical street tsotsis who specialised in robbing people and pick-pocketing in the streets.

In Oliver Schmitz's *'Mapantsula' (1988)* film is a more relevant example of the real and true reflection of a typical flaaitaal speaking tsotsi is that Panic, along with his old friend Jabu, (Thomas Mogotlane). These are typical flaaitaal speaking black masculine identities in their ate 30s (early 40s) who both dress flashy and flex at times, specializes in pick-pocketing and robbing people on the streets of Johannesburg inner city (especially white people), and also bullying and bulldozing anyone whenever they feel like. Panic was a true reflection of the then tsotsitaal speaker (tsotsi) his representation was never glorified or exaggerated or had some sort of hidden meaning behind it but true and authentic representation of then tsotsis of Sophiatown and various other black townships back in the 1940s onwards. Panic was an ordinary township based black masculine identity who lived with his mother, spend most of his time in the Johannesburg CBD pick-pocketing people as a full-time way of making a living, and he had no car or lived a very lavish life.

The power associated with flaaitaal is however also witnessed in *Mapantsula (1987*) where Panic, a flaaitaal speaking black masculine identity, is superior than his co-worker and friend, Dingaan (Darlington Michaels) who speaks Iscamtho. Panic eems to always be in charge and an orchestrator of all pick-pocketing crimes and various other money related robberies and is the one in charge of

distributing (sharing and splitting) the money. Dingaan is more of a 'yes boss' type of a guy, to Panic. Though *Mapantsula (1987)* has its own reflection of a flaaitaal speaking black masculine identity as compared to Yizo Yizo and Isidingo, there is however some form of status and power attached to (and associated with) the flaaitaal speaking black masculine identity as compared to that of Iscamtho speaking black masculine identity. The study will look into a few scenes from *Mapantsula* (1987) film.

Mapantsula film attached so as to illustrate the above.

In the film *Mapantsula (1988),* the enemy and target (victim) of the flaaitaal and iscamtho speaking black masculine identities criminal activities such as pick-pocketing was the white skinned (white man) person. Most of these pick-pocketing criminal activities took place in the busy and buzzy streets (CBD) of Johannesburg. An example of such pick-pocketing criminal activities by tsotsitaal speaking black masculine identities, towards the white man, is evident in scene (06:40 to 07:17 minutes). This is where Panic and Dingaan followed, bracketed and then pick-pocket (robbed) a white man, took his wallet. The white man was so freaked out and feared for his life, as he watched Panic open his wallet, taking out money and then telling the white man to get off using the word ''voetsek''.

Another robbery scene in *Mapantsula (1988)* is that from 32:30 minutes to 33:09 minutes. In this scene Panic leaves his friend Dingaan, whilst sitting inside a sports bar and a shop, as he has spotted his next victim which is that of a white lady looking unsure, uncomfortable and scared as she walks in the black dominant streets of Johannesburg. Panic then follows the white lady until, to his surprise, another man grabs the purse of the white lady and runs off leaving both the white lady and Panic stunned and shocked. Later on in another scene (33:49 to 35:55 minutes) Panic was yet again shocked for his life to find out that the person who grabbed the white lady's bag was his old friend Jabu, who is from prison. Throughout the film, *Mapantsula (1988),* Panic along with Jabu are just flaaitaal speaking black masculinities who are nothing more than ordinary tsotsis who specializes in pickpocketing, robbing people (mostly whites) on the streets and are not well-off but poor. Such representation, depiction and reflection of a flaaitaal speaking black masculine identity is very distinct and quite the opposite of what we see in post 1994 South African soapy *(Isidingo),* drama *(Yizo Yizo)* and film *(iNumber Number).* Thus, what could be such a distinct representation of flaaitaal speaking characters in a pre-1994 television production and post-1994 television production. Could such be indirectly, ideologically and strategically sending out a particular message?.

In chapter 4, the study looks into the representation of Flaaitaal speaking black masculine indentity, Mambane, in *iNumber Inumber (2013).* In going about such, the study analyses the kind of character which such Flaaitaal speaking black masculine is and the power, wealth and privilege he's affiliated with, as compared to those around him. Chapter 4 further looks into feminine figures within gangs, the case of Nandi, how the history aligned with it.

Chapter 4

Inumber number (2013): Hierarchy of languages and politics in South Africa.

Introduction

Inumber number (2013) is yet another site that offers strategic reflection of how South African gangster plays around with statuses and power of languages using characters as a representation of such languages. In this feature film the trope of representing Flaaitaal speaking characters as a dominant group over other characters is noticeable too. In equal measure the film representation strategically, ideologically, and indirectly plays around the power and status, especially how Flaaitaal is associated with the power of Afrikaans and its white male speakers, and equally how it is postulated to dominate other language speakers. Flaaitaal speaking characters are affiliated with power, authority, wealth, connections and bossy-ness. Such flaaitaal speaking characters as compared to other South African indigenous languages speaking characters and speakers of other languages, are always better off economically, connection wise and by all means always possesses authority over others, and to a certain extent dictates and control everything and everyone. Thus, in *Inumber number (2013)*, Mambane an old grey haired black masculine identity associated with Flaaitaal is very much superior than iscamtho and Sepetori speakers such as Skroef, G8, Sdumo, Slim and so on who are all just mere heist associates members who receive orders from him and are submissive to him. As a result of such observation the study will closely look into the character played by Flaaitaal speaking black masculine identity in *Inumber number (2013),* Mambane, and how the depiction of his character reflects and resembles that character of the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity and to what extent could such representation recast the hierarchy of languages and politics in South Africa. The chapter will look into his conduct and behaviour especially when associated with Flaaitaal and how he conducts himself towards others when speaking Flaaitaal. Another factor to consider is how other heist gang members regard him and how they conduct themselves in his presence or towards him and also how they worship him and regard him as their boss.

Power, authority and bossiness are amongst the attributes which best describes and reflects the ordinary native Afrikaner Masculine Identity. These attributes are observed in the old grey haired black masculine identity, in a post 1994 South African television. Flaaitaal speaking characters in South African television soapies, films and dramas are perceived to entrench resemblance of the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity of the apartheid era. In *iNumber Number (2014),* Mambane is a Flaaitaal-speaking character who possess the above mentioned attributes which the chapter will discuss to assess the extent such attributes illustrate invoke and provoke apartheid Afrikaans speaking

male identities. Flaaitaal is an indirect, reflection of the dynamism encapsulated in the hierarchies of language. Unfortunately, the present uses of flaaitaal, tsotsi language and sePitori resemble of apartheid racial relations, where the identity of Afrikaner-ness, as it is paralleled flaaitaal becomes a basis of new social hierarchisation among Africans who lead a life of the underworld. Deumert's (2017) work looks into the adaptation of Afrikaans in tsotsitaal which could have broader and deeper unconscious meanings and ideologies, is where the first line of argument is drawn. This chapter argues that the association of old greyed-hair black masculine identities with a youth (gangster & street) language and an Afrikaans syntax tsotsitaal in an upper and middle-class bring some of the underlying instabilities of flaaitaal and the politics of resistance into sharp focus. The second line of argument is drawn from Sharpe's (1989) Colonial Discourse theory which looks into the introduction and adaptation of English within the Indian education and how it is in this capacity that the colonial subject served as an ideological alibi for colonialism. Under Colonial Discourse theory, Sharpe (1989) explores how an individual can become an alibi for a particular linguistic group, culture and people as a result of the language they speak and the accent they prefer. Furthermore, she discusses the portrayal, behaviours and stereotypes associated with that particular linguistic and cultural group, especially among people from a different linguistic and cultural group. An example will be illustrated in this chapter with the case of Mambane, who to some extent is an alibi for Afrikaner-ness. Mambane is the head of operations and in charge of a group of thieves who specialises in very advanced heist and any cash related robberies. Mambane is the boss and he is in charge of everything regarding such heists and robberies and has the final say on what needs and has to be done and by whom. He reflects that of a powerful language overpowering and bulldozing the others though they work hand in hand with one another or belong to one organisation or same operation.

The emergence of female tsotsis and gangs

Women are seldom represented and spoken about when looking at the history of tsotsis and gangsterism. There could be many reasons behind this which include that of the physical abilities of women, street-savviness and brevity in becoming a gangster or being involved in gang related affairs. The reason behind many females not being part of gangs could be that of parental authority, and also domestic chores and women only related activities at home. Msimang (1987: 82), on the other hand, states that the reason behind the scarcity of women in gangs could be as result of them not being victims of improper upbringing and socialization, bearing in mind that the tsotsi community consisted of corner-street delinquent teenagers who lacked proper upbringing and socialization.

Young girls to some extent were involved in gang related activities as the gangsters' molls and moved around with them at parties and so on, but they were not involved in activities such as mugging or gambling. Women tended to be the rewards, the trophies for male success. Tsotsi gangs saw women as an accomplishment and nothing more. Their primary of these women in gangs was to entertain the tsotsis and come across as being attractive in order to bolster the masculine egos of their tsotsi boyfriends. Glaser (1992: 54) states that such molls were drawn peripherally into tsotsi criminal activities, whereby they were used as scouts, shoplifters and decoys, and such girls were known as *Noasisas*. A typical example illustrated by Glaser (1992: 54), was that of a beautiful lady with large breasts named Stololo who would go up to a shopkeeper, distract him by opening herself up, and then scream that the shopkeeper was trying to rape her, then the tsotsis would take the till. The *Noasisas* though, were left out of the prestigious spheres of criminal activities such as planning of robberies, holding the gun or knife, seizing the loot and many other criminal activities which needed the brave and masculine.

Glaser (1992: 60) indicates that as time went by there was an emergence of a few individual women in the Witwatersrand townships who took tsotsis on at their own game. These women were tough, independent fighters who managed to forge for themselves a certain amount of respect and personal discretion over their sexual lives. They were prepared to defend themselves with their fists, knives and guns. Therefore, in order to retain their independence and sexual freedom, they had to assume what amounted to a masculine identity. In Sophiatown these women were referred to as *brekgat* or *wildeperde*, terms, almost synonymous with 'virgin'. These women were thoughtof as the type of women who didn't want to be touched by men, and thus were referred to as loners. The Berliners of Sophiatown was a women's gang wing which actively organized and trained women to fight alongside men (Glaser, 1992: 60). Amongst such women where molls, who participated in fights, wore the gang tattoo, the swastika, along with the men, however such a gang wing fell under the command of the larger male gang (Glaser, 1992:60). Women eventually had their own gang wing comprised of women only but only to learn that they were under the supervision (or under the umbrella groups) of their male counterparts, though such wing consisted of dangerous and notorious gang leaders (women) like Mamang and Sinna. As a result, women must've have practiced tsotsitaal since they spent some time with tsotsis and were also part of them but it remains a mystery as to why they are marginalized from such a subculture in history books. Based on the above background of women traces in the tsotsi subculture, it is reasonable to hold that women were not initially tsotsis but were caught up within such a subculture as a result of associating themselves with tsotsis, and assisted such tsotsis in accomplishing some of their mission such as is a case with Gugu in *Inumber*

number (2013) . Gugu is the only female who is part of the gang, though most of the time she is the one who plays the role of a security guard and makes sure that no one enters with dangerous weapons and suspicious gadgets such as knifes, guns, phones, spying gadgets and so on. She is also the Mambane's daughter, and thus such a relationship tells a lot about her role and involvement in the gang, like father like daughter.

The ownership of the media in South Africa pre-1994, could be another reason for the association of a black dominant cast with a white director, producer and white owned production company post-1994. Dating back to the history of the South African cinema and film industry, in the 19th century, the media has been under the ownership of the minority but financially well off whites, thus giving them the privilege of producing films about South Africans but from a white gaze. Marsh's association with a black dominant cast could also be better explained by the history of the media in South Africa and how such dominance of whites within the South African media is still evident even in the post 1994 era. The South African cinema industry is thus a typical example of how Africans are marginalised within the industry due to lack of producing skills and knowledge, lack of funding, side-lined by whites, and thus only limited to assisting whites. Ordinary black South Africans are outnumbered by whites in terms of ownership within the cinema and film industry (Tomaselli,2016). Thus, as a result of such domination of whites in the South African cinema industry it is inevitable that whites will construct images which meet their interests and thus will somehow use film as some form of propaganda. The absence or scarcity of blacks in the production, directing and ownership side of cinema production and filmmaking results in their cultures being misinterpreted.

The main characters of *iNumber number (2013)* include (Gugu) Hlubi Mboya, a tough cookie and the only woman in a man's world and a daughter of the heist gang leader, Mambane. Israel Makwe (Skroef) who is a dark and twisted scumbag with a nose for smelling a rat (traitor, spy or informant). S'dumo Mtshali (Chilli) and Presley Chweneyagae (Shoes) who are both undercover cops and who also form part of the gang. There is also Branden Auret (Warren), and Mambane, (Owen Sejake) the boss, veteran and leader of the gang who is an old grey-haired Flaaitaal speaking black masculine identity. All these gang members bring individual traits to the fore without losing power of the ensemble work. The other members of the heist gang include that of Percy Matsemela (Slim), Warren Masemola (G8), Phallance Dladla (Thulani), Carlo Radebe (Dex), Brandon Daniels (Stakes) and Daniel Hadebe (Moses). There are a wide range of languages varieties in *iNumber Number (2014)* spoken by the heist gang members where flaaitaal takes the spotlight as a result of the manner, behaviour and conduct associated with the Flaaitaal speaking character, Mambane.

INumber Number (2013) talks about heists gangs, the secrets and processes behind the execution of a heists. It details how heists are planned and by whom, where they are planned, how law enforcement officers and officials also tend to be part of such heists and the consequences of such deeds. In the film one thing is emphasised amongst the members of the heist gang and the police officers, is that of trust and loyalty. Working together as law enforcement officers for quite some time, Chilli and Shoes are double-crossed by their superior as a result of money and reward related issues and as a result of such disloyalty they decided to join the heist gang where the levels of mistrust and disloyalty is on another level, where no one trust anyone though they've been working together in previous heists. The term "rat" is often used in by the heist gang members in reference to people (members) who snitch, sell outs and are disloyal to the gang.

Released in 2014 and filmed in Soweto and Johannesburg with an estimated budget of R10 000 000, *iNumber number (2013)* is a hopped up thriller about committed cops Chilli (Sdumo Mtshali) and Shoes (Presley Chwwenegaye) who get swindled by a corrupt superior refusing to pay out the reward they earned for getting some gangsters off the streets. As a result, Chilli realises that honesty does not pay and joins a gang of armoured car thieves. *Inumber Number (2014)* was produced under Chris Morgan production company, XYZ films and Quizzical Pictures production companies and directed by Donovan Marsh, who is an award winning director, writer and editor who has been working in the film industry since 1992. Marsh has been involved in the writing and directing of films such as "*Spud and Spud 2: The madness continues (2010 & 2013)* and *Dollars and White Pipes (2005). INumber Number (2013)* manages to work comic relief into the script, often through the use of tsotsitaal. Consisting of a black dominant cast, *INumber Number* to a certain extent is simply a reflection and the retelling of cash heists related stories and reality in South Africa and wherein professionalism, ethnicity and race is most likely to be part of such activities.

Donovan Marsh's association with a black cast could be better explained by the story he and the production companies want to tell, who will better act it out so as to truly reflect such a story, so that it can also relate to the audience and most importantly the target market and not leaving out film agencies. Drawing from scholarship on the history of film and television in South Africa, where ownership of the media was under the ownership of whites, it is important to take this aspect into cognisance when understanding the interplay between Marsh and his black cast. Films, dramas and soapies are a reflection of some reality therefore one cannot tell a story about certain people, tribe, group, race without including them. A film based on a story about Africans must include African

images, and same applies to Native Americans, Mexicans and so on. To illustrate this point, I will make an analogy to *Apocalypto* (2006) directed by a white masculine identity and legendary actor, Mel Gibson, under the production company Touchstone Pictures and Icon Productions.

Apocalypto (2006) consist of a Native American dominant cast with a few whites being featured towards the end of the film. The film narrates the history of Native Americans; thus they must be featured since the film is about the history and tells a story about them even though the gaze is from a Hollywood based white masculine identity and production company. In the African diaspora an example of a western produced film, amongst various others, about Africans is that of *Beasts of no Nation (2015)* starring Idris Elba. *Beasts of No Nation* (2015) is a film shot in Ghana and its theme is on child soldiers and how such rebels went about around the country killing innocent civilians and gang raping women, and destroyed everything they come across. Such a film is a true reflection of genocide events that took place in Africa and some are still taking place, in 2020, such as that of the Tigray war in Ethiopia. The film is produced and directed by American director, producer, screenwriter and cinematographer Cary Joji Fukunaga under the production companies of Red Crown Productions, Primary productions, Participant Media Production and Parliament of Owls Production Company. *Beasts of No Nation (2015)* tells a story about life in Africans in Africa but from a perspective of an American based director and foreign production companies.

Such is also the case in South Africa where stories about black South Africans are told by white directors and white dominant and owned production companies. A typical example is that of the film *Inxeba* (2017) which is centred around the initiation school and its procedures within the Xhosa culture. Directed by a white masculine identity, John Trengove**,** under the Urucu Media Productions with the association of European based production companies such as Riva Filmproduktion and Das Kleine Fernsehspiel (ZDF) (Germany), Oak Motion Pictures (Amsterdam), ZDF/Arte, Sampek Productions and Deuxieme Ligne Films (France). The film consists of an all-black Xhosa cast since it tells a story about Xhosa culture and its people. The same is applicable with Bomb shelter which is composed of a white masculine and feminine identities, along with one black masculine identity. But their productions (dramas, soapies etc) consist of a black dominant cast as they are all about telling South African stories which reflect real life situations in South Africa. The issue of white minority owning majority of the media dates back to the apartheid era. During this period blacks where economically excluded and socially discriminated against, thus having access to ownership of the media was highly impossible. The media also played the role of a watchdog and a form censorship for the apartheid regime before 1994.

Synopsis

The film takes off where Chilli and Shoes are to receive their cash reward for capturing and arresting a notorious thief who was on the most wanted list. Chili Ngcobo, an undercover cop, blows his cover and is captured by a gang. Chili frees himself and radios his partner for help, not realizing that Shoes' pistol has been sent in for repair. Shoes, insists they call for backup, but Chili refuses, as he does not want to share the large reward for the gang's leader. With Shoes' tactical guidance, Chili takes down the entire gang despite having only two bullets. When they bring in the gang leader, Captain Stone withholds the reward unless they will set free a suspected rapist who is politically connected. Shoes is surprised when Chili suggests that they agree to the deal, and he refuses to compromise his principles. For them to receive their reward, paperwork from their authorities had to be prepared but this process was not followed. As a result, Shoes decides to join the notorious gang led by Mambane which is on a mission to conduct a cash heist of around R4 million.

The gang they join is headed by Mambane, a crime boss, the two (Chilli and Shoes) have been investigating for several years. Mambane has a major heist planned. Initially assuming that Chili intends to infiltrate the gang, Shoes comes to realize that Chili instead wants to offer him a cut him in the loot, after which they will arrest the gangsters at their leisure. Shoes reluctantly agrees after Chili promises that no one will be hurt. One of the gangsters, Skroef, becomes suspicious when he recognizes Chili from another undercover operation that resulted in his arrest. Knowing that he needs to get rid of Skroef, Chili sends Shoes to arrest him. The next day, while the criminals discuss the heist, Skroef shows up with Shoes, whom he has captured, and says that one of the crew is an undercover cop. Chili convinces Mambane that their inside man, a security guard, is the culprit. The gangs' ire is redirected toward the guard. Chili convinces Mambane to spare Shoes' life, and use him as a hostage instead despite Skroef's insistence that they must kill Shoes immediately. While the other gang members are asleep, Chili tries to slip a small knife to Shoes, who refuses to go along with any plan that involves the murder of a security guard. Skroef catches the two talking and instantly attacks Chili, whom he accuses of being an undercover cop.

Mambane threatens to kill both men but admits that he needs them to perform the heist. Worried that the police may be on to their plans, Mambane advances the heist to the next day despite the protestations of G8, who advises that they abort the heist. During the heist operation, Chili has second thoughts and attempts to warn off the armoured truck that they have targeted. Although the heist is successful, several members of the crew die, and G8 is wounded.

When they return to their base, Stakes and Gugu betray the others and attempt to run off with the money. As Skroef kills both, Chili arrives and takes the money. G8 stalks Chili while Mambane and Skroef attempt to kill Shoes, who has overpowered Kenny and taken his weapon. Using radios, Shoes and Chili warn each other of enemy movements and kill all their opponents except Skroef. Skroef uses a radio to locate Shoes' position and wounds him. Desperate to save his partner, Chili leaps from a higher floor onto Skroef, using the money bag as both shield and cushion, he slam onto Skroef. Both men are temporarily stunned by the collision, though Chili recovers quickly enough to use the money bag to smother Skroef. Chili realizes that the money is finally his. However, the next day, he goes to the bank and drops the money bag off. The film ends as he and Shoes return to their jobs as policemen.

Rationale

The chapter intends highlighting language hierarchies amongst gangs in films, and the deployment of youth and gangster languages in such films. The chapter pays close attention to the usage and deployment of language by individuals within the same gangs and the roles they play and positions they hold among their fellow gang groups. Most gangster films Hollywood deploy the regular language spoken by most Americans, and create an impression that there are no youth languages or slang languages which are mostly used in informal settings. *Sicario (2013)* is an example of a gangster film which deploys Mexican Spanish and the cast consist of young adults (25 years an above), where youth characters are just mules who are victims of torture and violence. The case is quite similar when it comes to American based and produced gangster films, which always deploy American English and Spanish. In such films ordinary American English is deployed by the characters though they all occupy different roles within the film and their respective gangs, thus all characters speak the same language variety but hold different roles and are of course of different age groups. Another example is *The Godfather* enterprise*, Before I Self Destruct (2009)* starring Curtis Jackson, *Easy Money (2018)* starring Clifton Powell, *Paid in full (2002)* starring Wood Harris, *Menace Society (1993), City of God (2002), El Chapo (2017)* amongst many other gangster films.

Gangster films are films belonging to a genre that focuses on gangs and organized crime. Such films consist of large criminal organizations, or small gangs formed to perform a certain illegal act. These films resolve the contradictory feelings of fear and desire which are aroused by attempts to achieve financial and social success. *Inumber number* (2013) is an example of a gangster film genre where a group of black man and a young woman attempts to resolve contradictions around Africans being

marginalised from sources of mainstream economy through illicit means. Shadioan (2003) states that gangster and crime genre film remains a viable framework for getting something important said and as a result such films continue to be made and hold their own in the marketplace. Shadioan further mentions that this film genre has survived as a result of the issues they address which have, in most cases, been central to current societal issues all over the world. In the making of gangster films, they are setting is in an imagined social reality separate from the contemporary structure; its actual time and place makes it to look like it is irrelevant to the fundamental issues it raises. The society in which the action takes place is very simple and does not function as a dramatic force in the films but exists as a backdrop against which the few actors work out the central problem the film presents. The gangster film, by implication, opts for happy anonymity. To be successful is to become vulnerable; the successful one becomes the foe of all who wishes to take his place. Gangster films show the fearful results of attempting to rise within a hierarchical society and thus defend class lines. These simplistic solutions, the adherence to a well-defined, unchanging code, the advocacy of methods of problem solving based on tradition and faith, the advocacy of isolationism, and the warning to stay within one's station if one is to survive all militate against progressive social change.

Fenwick's (1996) work is on the gangster figures of the 1950 and 60s. In *Drum* magazine writers have expressed a romanticised view of criminal life but there has not been a concerted effort to analyse both the history and nature of the gangster- figure in Drum during the 1950s and what function that figure served, if any, in the Sophiatown renaissance of which Drum was such an important part. Fenwick argues that this scholarship relatively looks into the distinct phases of the representation of the gangster, and of gangsterism, between 1950 and the early 1960s. The first phase is characterised by consistent condemnations of crime as an urban phenomenon that threatens the rural/tribal identity of blacks. The second phase is an almost complete turn-around from the first, as during this period gangsters were usually portrayed as urban survivors who are able to achieve a standard of living (both materially and socially) normally denied to blacks. The final stage is an extended period of nostalgia for the 'shebeen culture' of Sophiatown that all but disappeared with the destruction of the city by the apartheid government. Fenwick (1996) perceptions assist the chapter in its defining of a gangster figure in *INumber Number (2013)* and its relation to the gangster figure of Sophiatown during the 1940s and 1950s. Such an identity was formed as a result of a sense of belonging and also an identity formed by rural area people who migrated to urban spaces, and also as a result of the American gangsters and films and media. With that being said, Fenwick (1996) plays a vital role in unpacking the gangster figure in Mambane and how he relates to the gangster figure of Sophiatown.

Govender's (2011) work is on gangster film genre and how it has been used to represent the socio-political and economic conditions of South Africa over an extended period of time. Firstly, by looking at the early history of the influence of the gangster genre on South African audiences, specifically the Sophiatown generation, the history of the genre is strongly linked to socio-political conditions in South Africa. Govender focuses on South African-made gangster films, beginning with *Mapantsula (1988)* and how it speaks to the tumultuous times of the 1980s prior to liberation. It then proceeds to examine *Hijack Stories (2000)* as a gangster film that represents South African society post-liberation. Lastly, it examines *Jerusalema (2008)* as a recent example of the gangster film and its representation of current issues, problems and tensions within South African society. The project delves into the messages that the gangster genre in particular holds as a genre that is intimately linked to social, economic and political conditions. The use of the genre as a tool to represent the experiences of South Africans prior to and post liberation is of particular interest to this research. Such work looks into gangster film as the whole, its societal related issues such as crime, politics, the economy and so on, leaving out the deployment of language in such films and its indirect, strategic and ideological meaning. Govender's (2011) work will be of much importance as its analysis of *Hijack Stories (2000)* looks into the South African society in post-liberation, which is quite relevant to what the current chapter aims at raising and illustrating with its focus on language hierarchies in the underworld.

Modisane's (2010) work is on how Mapantsula relates to critical public engagements on the nature of black identity and on the preoccupation of the time, the antiapartheid struggles. The essay inquires into the publicness of Mapantsula—that is, the conditions of and tendencies in the film's public engagements. It builds critically on the approaches of Alexander Kluge and Miriam Hansen on the question of film and the public sphere through the essay's reflection on what Modisane terms "public critical potency" of film. By public critical potency Modisane means the capacity of film to stimulate critical engagements in public. The essay attempts to initiate a public sphere perspective on South African film scholarship and critically reassess the limits and possibilities that Kluge's and Hansen's reflections may bring to bear on how Engagé films relate to the public sphere. The essay argues that their approaches labour with the conceptually restrictive understanding of the relationship between "film" and "public" and ultimately underplay the public critical potency of film. Through Mapantsula, the essay further argues that under certain circumstances, the public sphere of film can be more extensive and critical than Hansen's and Kluge's works suggest. It proposes that by considering films as texts that circulate over time, as well as their generic makeup and contexts of engagement, we can fully appreciate the nature and status of film in the public sphere. The next subsection turns its focus

to the analysis of subculture language varieties in the representation of gangster hierarchies in *INumber Number (2013)*.

Afrikanerness by a Flaaitaal speaking character, the case of Mamabane.

The world of a gangster is made up of a pyramidal hierarchy. Only one man can be the top dog. The film makes its audiences to follow single man as he makes his way up the various ranks of the structure. The manner and style of language used by the lower ranking members of the gang register this class hierarchy even in the manner in which they refer to Mambane in their private conversations. This referent suggests that the historical importance attached to Flaaitaal and Afrikaner-ness carries very important and rich history. Beginning of with the scene where G8 welcomes his old friend Skroef and introduces him to the gang and setting. G8 informs Skroef that all these heist gang members are dogs, however Mambane is the last to be introduced and referred to as the "*bosso ya di bosso*", the last man standing. The attached below contains the scene above and the dialogue goes as follows:

Still *Clip: Scene 16:08 minutes till 19:10 minutes*



Skroef (to G8): "Aah dlala casanova into zo G8 government account, kuvela wena ku dabuka ama G-string. Aow dlala sex champion. (Shakes his hand)

(*Ah greetings casanova, G8 with a government account. Master of G-strings. Sex champion).*

G8 (to Skroef): Ekse KZN, N3,bene kant Durban, Mpangeni. E mptjaka, e Skroef man dintshang? *(Greetings* KZN, N3,bene kant Durban, Mpangeni.My dog, Skroef man what's up?)

Skroef (to G8): Ku daleka ezi nga dali. ****using swearing and offensive language*** nga phakathi uyizwa lento?.

(What is this shit? A boer and a chick? What's going on?)

G8 (Skroef): Neh kyk hierso. Re dimptjha kaofela hierso. And die ander ding, re tshwere bosso ya di bosso (referring to Mambane. *(listen here. They're all dogs here. And another thing, that's the boss of all bosses (referring to Mambane).*

The above scene illustrates the power, influence and authority old grey-haired Flaaitaal speaking characters have on and over other characters. G8 informs Skroef that in here, they're all dogs (nobody's) but however there's the boss of all bosses who is not referred to as a dog, which is Mambane. Such indicates the power Mambane has and the respect he gets from his fellow heist gang members who referred to him as a boss. Immediately after G8 familiarises Skroef with the gang and setting, Mambane gets up and addresses his troops (heist gang members).

Later when Mambane addresses his crew, in the same scene, the film establishes how through language use Mambane presents himself and the top of the hierarchy, thus deploying language to imply strategic and ideological frames of his power. His speech act ranges from invocation of a Zulu proverb as an altruism to an admixture of Zulu colloquial to Flaaitaal to establish his status and power. The dialogue of such a scene is beneath the still clips.

***iNunumber Number (2013*) still clips**





Mambane(addressing the heist gang members): Amaroto, iinto ezidli cheese ngenkani.(laughs). Kukona isaga sesiZulu, a Zulu proverb, "*ikhotha eyikothayo engayikhothi iyayikahlela".* Jy slat my agter oor ek Sam te jou. Ek steel jou six fit underground no return.

(My rats. You greedy cheese eaters by force. There's a Zulu proverb which goes, *ikhotha eyikhothayo engayikhothi iyayikahlela"(the cow licks the one that licks her).*

Skroef: Is tit for tat, butter for fat.

Mambane: Jy slat my agter die oor, ek samtie jou. I send you six feet underground. No return.

You hit me behind the ear…I exterminate you. I send you six feet underground, no return).

As Mambane is addressing his rats, in comes Chilli who interrupts Mambane and everyone thus drawing everyone's attention towards him. If we pay careful attention, one would note that Mambane associates Flaaitaal with aggressiveness, bossy-ness, cruelty, and some form of power play and stranglehold on his menials. The phrases, words and body language applied when using Flaaitaal are quite different as to those when speaking IsiZulu or English. Looking back at the above scene, Mambane is chilled, relaxed and smiling when addressing his troops when he uses the phrase "Amaroto, iinto ezidli icheese ngenkani.(laughs). Kukhona isaga sesiZulu, a Zulu proverb, "*ikotha eyikothayo engayikhothi iyayikahlela*." His body language, attitude and aggressive changes when he uses a Flaaitaal phrase, "*Jy slat my agter oor ek Sam te jou*. *Ek steel jou six fit underground no return*". Such deployment and application of Flaaitaal indirectly, strategically and ideologically carries deep and unconscious meaning which requires critical analysis. Thus, the chapter argues that such hidden meaning could be that of the recast of South African language hierarchy during the apartheid era and how Afrikaans (associated with Flaaitaal) is depicted as the language of the cruel, aggressive, bossy and heartlessness which oppressed Africans associated with ordinary Afrikaner masculine identities, especially during the apartheid era.

Women in Gangs

Female figures in gangs were viewed as complacent, less interesting, exotic, and were viewed as the side-chicks, and sexual receptacles of the boy gangs and members (Belnap & Bowers, 2016). Belnap &

Bowers (2016:213) furthermore indicate that females in gangs were often victims of rape by the male gang members and were thus identified and labelled as sexually loose and delinquent. Such acts were viewed as consensual sex and a delinquent status, than that of a victim, was accrued to the raped female whereas there was no delinquent status attributed to the boys who raped these females (gang members). A typical example in *Inumber number (2013)* is that of Gugu, a female gang member who was raped by her father Mambane. As indicated by Belnap & Bowers (2016:214),females' membership in gangs consisted of three categories which includes that of truly autonomous gangs, fully integrated gangs, auxiliary girl gang status. Truly autonomous are girl-only gangs, whereas fully integrated gangs are that where girls' and boys' memberships in the same gang are similar, and the auxiliary girl gang status refers to something in between fully integrated and truly autonomous, where the girls have some connection to the boys' gang, but not as full and independent members. Though there is not that much sufficient work done on women in gangs or women gangs, it is worth taking note that women joined gangs for more or less the same reasons as that of men. Girls primarily join gangs for a place to belong, friendship, and a sense of family, an escape from isolation and harsh environments, protection and safety, particularly from men. Girls who are more likely to join and need gang membership are those who are more marginalized by race (racism), poverty, unemployment, crime and neglect by family and society.

Gugu Mambane's seed : Like father like daughter.

Gugu also known as 'Cheese girl' is Mambane's daughter and Stakes' girlfriend. The name 'Cheese Girl' is a township referral term to someone who's from a privileged or rich family, thus you're regarded as a cheese eater which most people in black societies regard cheese as expensive and scarce and thus only for the privileged. Such a name, 'Cheese Girl', could also be as a result of her affiliation and relationship with Mambane, whereby Mambane could be the reason behind such a name as he is rich, and the boss thus her daughter becomes a cheese girl as a result of his wealth and privilege. Gugu hates Mambane as he once raped her and probably raped her more than once as he attempted to rape her again but Skroef interrupted. As a result of such, Gugu and Stakes plan on betraying Mambane and the gang and keep the heist money to themselves after the heist. Moreover, Gugu seems to be following in the footsteps of his father as she is the only woman who's part and parcel of a male dominant heist gang which requires braveness for one to be part of. Such is similar to that of Papa G and her daughter, Nina, who seems to be following in his footsteps as she's a very brave, fearless, heartless women who possess and displays thuggish behaviour and conduct. Now such tells a lot about flaaitaal speaking characters and their daughters which is a discussion for another day.

The case of Gugu in *Inumber number (2013)* is a typical example of what Belnap & Bowers (2016:214) termed the auxiliary girl gang status, where female figures have connection to the male gangs. Gugu is part of the heist gang and has the connection to the gang as she is involved in everything which is done, has access to all secrets of the gang, though she's sometimes harassed by some male members of the gang she mans up and becomes tough as a way of protecting herself. Her comfort, settlement and relativeness with the gang could be as result Mambane being her father and the gang leader father. Gugu's involvement in the gang is quite similar to that of indicated earlier on, which is seeking for a sense of belonging, friendship and family (case of Stakes), an escape from isolation and harsh environments, protection and safety, particularly from men like her father Mambane who abuses her. Mambane previously raped Gugu, and again in the film he attempts to rape her again and was only interrupted by Skroef who came in unannounced. In short the presence of females in gangs can be explained by many factors and their treatment within the gangs is something to be looked into as they are marginalized, abused, harassed and at times raped and have nowhere to turn as they are regarded as the delinquents' females portraying thuggish behaviour, harmful and sexually loose individuals and slaves of male gang members. The reason for women to join or be part of gangs is quite different to that of their male counterparts same applies with the roles they perform within the gang.

***iNumber Number (2013)* still clips of Mambane attempting to rape Gugu**



In conclusion, *Inumber Number (2013)* contains deep and unconscious meaning in relation to language and politics hierarchies in a South African context, and also plays a very vital role in the retelling and reviving the story of women in gangs. The chapter illustrated the extent to which Mambane could simply an Alibi for Afrikaner-ness and his representation as an indirect, ideological and strategic reflection and resemblance of the ordinary native Afrikaner masculine identity and that of language and politics hierarchies in a South African context. The mannerism and conduct of flaaitaal speaking Mambane, especially when deploying flaaitaal, towards other characters is most of the time coupled with aggression, anger, dictatorship (ordering), signs of bully-ness and cruelness, thus raising observations of how flaaitaal could be a resemblance of Afrikaner-ness. In relation to the character of Gugu, the chapter indicated how such characterisation could informs us more about women's involvement within gangs. Gugu as a marginalized, abused, harassed and probably neglected is the only female within a male dominant and the roles she has within the gang simply reflects and retells the history of women in gangs, their involvement and roles, and how they end up being part of such gangs. *Inumber Number (2013)* as a gangster film was pretty much successful in the representation of gang heist members and mission and how cruel and disloyal to one another they can be, such as the case of Gugu and Stakes double-crossing the gang and Chilli also, and how Skroef and G8 were cruel to their fellow gang members by killing them. Over and above, using *Inumber Number (2013)* the chapter unearthed the meanings communicated by such representation coupled with sufficient sources to support such arguments raised by the study.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The main argument of the study resulted from sentiments that were perceived to underlie characterisation of flaaitaal and iscamtho speaking characters in *Isidingo (1998)*, *Yizo Yizo (1999)* and *INumber number (2013).* The study argued that flaaitaal speaking characters resembles that of the ordinary native Afrikaner toxic masculine identity, especially that of the apartheid period. What has been observed was that flaaitaal speaking characters are represented as those who are wealthy and economically well-off, cruel, heartless, well-connected, mafias, oppressors, bullies and public enemies. These attributes, coupled with their affiliation to flaaitaal, which according to the African public imagination, are closely related informal, Afrikaans. Aspects such as these have prompted the study to pay close attention to black constructions of these characters by these mostly white produced films. However, iscamtho speaking characters, on the other hand, are depicted as those who are criminals involved in petty crimes, visionless, poor, violent, inferior compared to flaaitaal speaking characters.

Drawing from Deurmart (2017), whose views helped with the formulation of the main argument, the study indicated how language deployment in television could imply deeper and broader unconscious meanings and ideologies related to cultural-linguistic appropriation or even parody. Another very important scholarly work the study drew on is work by Glaser (1992) and Msimang (1987) who both look into the history of tsotsitaal and tsotsis and the emergence of women in gangs, both male dominant (only) and female dominant gangs. Glaser (1992) and Msimang (1987) discussed the causal factors which led females in township to consciously and unconsciously join gangs and those factors which prevented or rather witnessed few or no females being part of or joining gangs, and most importantly their treatment and suffering within the gangs by male gang members.

In *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999)* and *Inumber Number (2013)* old greyed haired black masculine identities are associated with a youth language, flaaitaal, which is also very much closely linked to Afrikaans. Such raises many concerns as to how can a language practised by the youths of Sophiatown and other black townships during the 1950s onwards, be associated with old grey haired black masculine identities. Furthermore, what is puzzling and worth noting is that such characters' mannerism, behaviour and conduct which is not distinct from but relative to that or ordinary native Afrikaner toxic masculine identities of the apartheid regime. Papa G in *Isidingo (1998)* possess more or less similar characteristics and mannerism as that of *Yizo Yizo's (1999)* Bra Gibb and that of Mambane in *INumber Number (2014),* All these different character constructions which are played by different black males are depicted as wealthy, economically well-off, mafia type, bullish, cruel, oppressive and well-connected flaaitaal speaking old greyed haired black toxic masculine identities. The strategy and manner in which all of the above mentioned three flaaitaal speaking character is more or less the same and falls within one concept, that is, the 'normative' of how flaaitaal speaking characters are and should be represented on television. What needs to born in mind is that normatively representation of people, along with culture and language, is a reflection of a particular reality, in the case of these filmic the white gaze on black masculinities, as these filmed are white produced. Thus, thus overarching and affiliation of such characters with a youth language in South African television is complicating implied meaning or ideology behind such representation. Deriving from Deurmart (2017), Scott (1990) arguments, especially on 'hidden transcripts" such representations could point to not just mere reflection and representation of linguistic hierarchies within a South African context, but also, mimicry or aping; an embodiment of ordinary native Afrikaner toxic masculine identity.

The corollary to the above observation has been introduced by Sharpe (1989), in her seminal work on the colonial discourse theory. Her arguments give us a typical example of what is termed 'colonial alibi' which very much assisted the study in bolstering its argument and illustrating how and to what extent can the three flaaitaal speaking characters be a mere indirect and reflection of ordinary native Afrikaner

masculine toxic identities. In her assessment, these three different constructions of black toxic masculinities are symbolic reflection of ideological alibis of Afrikaner-ness. A colonial alibi is an individual who is from a particular cultural, linguistic and historical background but possess attributes of another distinct culture such as language, way of life, religion and so on. the constructions of Papa G, Bra Gibb, and Mambane are all typical examples of alibis of Afrikaner-ness, they speak a language closely linked to Afrikaans, behave in a manner which is very much close to that of how ordinary native Afrikaner toxic masculine identities, especially those of the apartheid regime, conduct themselves. Although these constructions have nested these toxic Afrikaner male identities on some behaviours associated with ordinary tsotsis, especially that of the 1940s onwards, the embodiment of Afrikaner-ness by these characters is unmistakeable. Sharpe (1989) views gave the study an edge to again better raise its argument, from her view sharpened how such representation of flaaitaal speaking characters could be linked with indirect and strategic representation of Afrikaner-ness as a result of how such characters are represented as alibis of Afrikaner-ness. Another colonial discourse theory that played a huge role in further strengthening the argument raised in the study was that of Scott's (1990) hidden transcript. The notion of hidden transcript is valuable to the study as it looks into hidden meaning in media texts. This theory postulates that ideology is mainly based on assumption of what certain media text could imply considering the meaning and information which could be hidden or messages which are indirectly represented or offered to the broader public and audience. Hidden transcripts mainly looks into hidden or indirect messages within media text, therefore setting up a platform for one to raise arguments based on assumption of what their interpretation of particular media text and the manner of representation. The application of hidden transcripts witnessed the study providing vital argument based evidence accompanied by sources to support such assumptions and arguments raised based on what one has observed. It is as a result of the unearthing of such observations in *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999)* and *INumber Number (2013)* which led to the study's referral to hidden transcripts, so as to better indicate that some messages and information within media texts are indirectly and strategically represented, thus making it tricky and at times impossible for the audience to relate to or get the meaning of such texts, and at times misinterpret them.

In the chapters, the study looked into how there could be hidden messages regarding flaaitaal speaking characters and Afrikaner-ness and thus how such messages and ideologies correlating flaaitaal with Afrikaner-ness are indirectly and strategically represented making it very challenging for the audience to discern hidden information. Hidden transcripts include factors such as that of backstage or off-stage incidents and ideologies of which characters and at times producers are not aware or conscious of. Audiences and investigators, as a result, will in most cases encounter difficulty in interpreting or recognizing certain hidden communicative codes. The study's observations amongst flaaitaal speaking characters and their relativeness to Afrikaner-ness that the study based its assumptions, as a result of exhuming hidden transcripts within these filmic narratives, it was able to come to nuanced

understandings of the construction of flaaitaal speaking characters. The disadvantage of hidden transcript is that it is not always the case in which there's hidden information within media texts, but merely an assumption that there is some hidden information which is strategically and indirectly sent out to the public. Hidden transcripts are based on what one knows or have ideas about a particular phenomenon.

In explaining the representation of iscamtho speaking young black masculine identities in *Isidingo (1999), Yizo Yizo (1999)* and *Inumber Number (2013),* the works of Mamphele Ramphele came to the rescue and succeeded in providing the reader with a sense of what could be the root of such mannerism amongst iscamtho speaking characters in *Yizo Yizo (1999).* Ramphele and Richter (2006) work on migrant labours system and forced removals better explains the factors behind such mannerism amongst iscamtho characters. As indicated in chapter 3, Ramphele and Richter (2006) focus more on destabilization of African family structures (in both urban and rural spaces) as a result of migration and forced removals from one place to another, and the impacts of such on children and the youth at large. The study then applied such work as it relates and talks to the scenes in *Yizo Yizo (1999),* more especially the cases of iscamtho speaking characters such as Chester, Papa Action, Bobo and Sticks. Their mannerism, family structures, lifestyles and their overall situation are very much related to the effects of migration and forced removals on the youth therefore that's one of the reasons the study zoomed into the work of Ramphele and Richter (2006) because it better explain and highlight the case of such iscamtho speaking characters. The representation of iscamtho speaking characters as compared to flaaitaal speaking characters, is better explained by the history of tsotsitaal and tsotsis in Sophiatown and various other black societies (townships) and how flaaitaal was considered more relevant, civilized and better off than that of iscamtho which was regarded as the tsotsi variant for the moegoes and not streetwise tsotsis. The portrayal of flaaitaal speaking characters, in post 1994 South African television, as those who are much better and well-off as compared to iscamtho speaking characters who are poor, vision-less, uncivilized, uneducated and involved in petty crimes, could be a mere reflection and reflection of the history of tsotsitaal and tsotsis of Sophiatown during the 1940s onwards.

Black masculinity is another theory which played a huge role in explaining the portrayal of black masculine identities in *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999)* and *Inumber Number (2013*). In order to better understand representation of black male images in pots-1994 South African television, the study looked into how black masculine identities in the media (television, print media and so on) from all diasporas (Africa, America and the world) are negatively represented. From Hollywood to Africa the construction of black male images are a site for anxiety and are always portrayed as criminals, public enemies, low socio-economic status, visionless, violent and overall, as societal ills in films. As result, the association of flaaitaal and iscamtho speaking characters *in Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999)* and *Inumber Number (2013)* comes not as a surprise as black male images have been victims of negative representation. In

short, black masculinity as a theory played a huge role in bringing attention to the representation of black men images in the media, more especially in television. All over the world such constructions has turned into a disease whereby black images are most of the time represented negatively in the media. Luyt (2012), Malinga and Ratele (2016), Brown (2008), are amongst some of the works which the study covered in relation to black masculinity.

Luyt's (2012) focus on how white men are represented as exemplars of hegemonic masculinity whilst black men are marginalized in South African television succeeded in hinting and also reminding the reader about the negative representation of tsotsitaal speaking characters and more especially the ridiculing of iscamtho speaking characters. It further assisted the study in meeting its objective of applying black masculinity to explain the negative representation of black images. Luyt (2012) discusses how white men are represented as significant, and frequently as of higher socioeconomic status and occupying positions of greater social authority than black men, who are represented as of lower socio-economic status. On the other hand, Malinga and Ratele (2016) were beneficial in explaining negative representation of black images as their work notes and highlights the distorted portrayals of black males including underrepresentation, exaggeration of negative associations, limited positive associations, framing of black men as problematic, and exclusion of the voices of many young black men. Brown (2008) indicates that meaning and attributions associated with blackness (in film, televisions, adverts and other popular culture) have always been overwhelmingly negative.

Hadland. Louw. Sesanti & Wasserman (2008) discuss how the American and South Africa mainstream media which tends to associate and link black men to crime, violence and gangster rap, and are terming such representation as tough disguise. Craig (1992) highlights and emphasizes on the issue of the media (television, film, news) leaning on programs with content that negatively depict the lives of black masculinities. Buasch (2013) focuses on how young black males, in the 1990s, were always a site for anxiety in American society and how the media in America zoomed in on the role of young black men in violent crimes, especially gang violence. All of the above mentioned works on black masculinity paid a huge role in unearthing and explaining the negative representation of black images on television and the media.

Overall findings in the film practices in South Africa, in which way is their representation positive or negative.

The South African film media and film industry still reflects that of the pre-1994 era where the media was in the hands of the minority whites, therefore excluding non-whites. Dating back to the history of

the South African cinema and film industry, in the 19th century, the media has been under the ownership of the minority but financially well off whites, thus giving them the privilege of producing films about South Africans but from a white gaze. This positionality gave whites the edge to express their own views whilst supressing other views and practice some form of censorship within the media. This was more evident during the apartheid era under the leadership of the Afrikaner rule where state owned media played the role of a watchdog for the ruling party (government) and was used as a way of spreading propaganda and also censor some information. The South African cinema industry, as indicated by Tomaselli (2016), is a typical example of how Africans are outnumbered, marginalised within the industry due to lack of producing skills and knowledge, lack of funding, side-lined by whites, and thus only limited to assisting whites. As a result of such domination of whites in the South African cinema industry it is inevitable that whites will construct images which meet their interests and thus will somehow use film as some form of propaganda. The absence or scarcity of blacks in the production, directing and ownership side of cinema production and filmmaking resulted in their cultures being misinterpreted.

One very most interesting fact to note is that films, soapies and dramas are some reflection of reality of those who are represented, at times an assumption of reality, and most importantly a reflection of how they want reality to be like. As a result of the above previous paragraph and coupled with the representation of tsotsitaal speaking characters in *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999)* and *Inumber Number (2013),* it has been observed that practices within the South African film industry are that black images are negatively represented as compared to white images. This is where we notice black images in films depicted as public enemies, criminals, prostitutes, violent, poor and those who are from a low socio-economic background. Such a practice of negatively representing black images in South African films is emphasized and constantly repeated and has thus turned into a norm and a culture, as black images on television are now regarded as a site for anxiety and those who are outlaws, criminals, public enemies and destruction boys. Black societies, as in the case of *Yizo Yizo* (1999), are portrayed as unsafe environments occupied by ruthless, violent and uneducated civilians. It is as a result of such representation which instils fear and leads the audience to the conclusion that black societies such as Daveyton and most other black townships are not safe and friendly nor peaceful. The practice of negatively representing black images, as indicated in chapter 4, is also witnessed throughout the world and black masculinity as a theory played a vital role in helping us understand such a tradition and culture of negatively depicting black images in films.

In *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999)* and *Inumber Number (2013)* black images are negatively represented and associated with toxic-ness, cruelty, violence and so on. Such representation refers us back to the history of the South African film industry and black masculinity as a theory. Therefore, to try relate to reasons behind such portrayal of black images within the South African film industry, the

history of film in South Africa and black masculinity needs to be taken in to consideration. Factors such as production companies, producers and funders of a particular film are ones which dictate the manner in which a message should be disseminated to the broader public and to audience so as to better sell, infiltrate, and impose their views, beliefs, and ideologies. If ones can take note, all of the producers and production companies of *Isidingo (1998), Yizo Yizo (1999)* and *Inumber Number (2013)* are all from a privileged white dominant production crew and companies, thus making it very possible for such representation of black images to be from a white gaze with an aim of indirectly of disseminating a particular ideologies or message. White images in the above mentioned soapy, drama and film are respectively represented with dignity and depicted as those who are law-abiders, legally economically well-off, polite, well-mannered, non-violent, educated and overall the messiahs. As a result of such observations and findings within film practices in South Africa, the study holds the history of film in South Africa liable as a result of the present exclusion of blacks within the South African film industry. It is as a result of the scarce participation and most of all exclusion of blacks within the media which results in such negative representation of black images as such is not that which is in most cases from a black man gaze but from that of a white (non-black) gaze.

Practices of post-1994 South African television: Positives and negatives in the representation of black images.

The South African cinema is heavily politicised where whites still dominate the film industry post-1994. Thus, as a result of such domination of whites in the South African cinema industry it is inevitable that whites will propose for images which meets their needs and interests and thus will somehow use the film industry as some form of propaganda if possible. The absence or scarcity of blacks in the production, directing and ownership side of cinema production and filmmaking results in their cultures, in the form of films, being exposed or misinterpreted. Such is as a result of the white man being in charge and thus proposing for images which will be of interest to them and the audience and of course meet the needs of the audience. As a result of the domination of whites in the production and ownership side of South African cinema industry, concerns to arise are those of how the Black culture and its people are or will be portrayed in films and, to some extent, how black women are represented as objects of desire by white men. On the other hand, South African cinema being heavily politicized can also be explained in the way images of particular races are being displayed in South African films, movies, drama etc.

The overall findings within the film practices in South Africa is how black images, in most South African films, soapies and dramas, are always associated with negative and toxic representations. Such nature of representation of black images in post 1994 South African television is, to a certain extent, negative but positive to some extent since it negatively represents black images and societies and at the same time raising issues affecting blacks within black societies which the government or those

responsible seem to be shying away from redressing. Negative representations problematizes black images and blackness as a whole. Representation of black images, as argued by the black masculinity theory, have been negatively represented in film industries throughout the world thus creating a normalized and generalized conceptualisation that black images, more especially black masculine identities, are a site for anxiety. In relation to South African television, such representation is a setback within the film and television industry as it still dwells on the old norm of negatively representing black images though times have changed and black people, in post 1994 South Africa, are striving to excel and become better people though we still have those who are still societal ills and public enemies. Therefore, dwelling and zooming in on such nature of representation keeps on reminding the world and audience of the stereotypes of how life in a typical black township is, how people behave and conduct themselves and what is a true definition of a typical young black masculine identity in black townships.

Most important and disastrous about such nature of representation of black images, is the effects of such representation on the audiences. Most people at home, more especially children and those who are fans of what's represented (gangs, scholars, teachers etc.), can be carried away by such representation and as a result imitate and mimic such acts in reality, not realizing that such behaviour, conduct and mannerism of such characters are structured, scripted out and a mere reflection of reality and at the same time a form of entertainment. This form of entertainment consists of hidden ideologies which are indirectly and strategically instilled on to the audience. These ideologies are in most cases that which are from funders of films, therefore using producers, directors and production companies through film to pass on and instil such ideologies. Each and every piece of art, film, soapy, drama and so on, has an ideology or a particular message which it aims at informing the broader public about and also to influence and instil such ideologies and beliefs. Therefore, such representation of problematic and ridiculing black images is an act which needs to be considered based on the film producers and production companies in order to look into what are the objectives and the ideology behind such representation at the expense of black images.

Young children run the risk of imitating and normalizing acts and behaviour they witnessed on television and such representation of black images can lead to stereotyping and generalisation of such particular group, which could be very unfair as individuals from particular cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds are in most cases be judged based on what was represented on television about their way of life, fellow people and so forth. Example would be how most Hollywood films play around the representation of Arabs and South Americans. Arabs, in most Hollywood films are depicted as those who are societal-ills of the world, terrorist who are suicidal bombers and kidnapper whereas Mexicans and South Americans are portrayed as drug-lords and dealers, brutal killers, very corrupt and well-connected criminals and so forth.

The positive aspect of such representation of black images is that it raises issues affecting people within black societies. The media is a very powerful tool to disseminate messages to the broader public and those in higher places in order to seek of recognition or aid. There are many issues affecting people in black societies such as rape, crime, poverty, over-population, lack of service delivery, poor educational facilities amongst many others. For such issues to be addressed and brought to public attention, the media is in most cases the tool, whether through documentaries, news, films, soapies, talk shows or dramas. All that matters is for the message to go through for the broader public to be aware of and learn about such news and see what they can make out of them. In *Yizo Yizo (1999)* for instance, issues affecting scholars are that of drugs, rape, bullying, poor education, dysfunctional and destabilized family systems. Using the media, through such a drama, one of Bomb Shelter's aim was merely to address issues affecting scholars in most South African township schools, how are such issued attended to and the effects of such on the scholars, parents and the broader public. In such instance, Bomb Shelter productions played a vital role in taking note of such issues within black societies and addressed such to the public and the government through *Yizo Yizo (1999).* As a result of issues raised in *Yizo Yizo (1999)* affecting black societies it is inevitable that the government and all related were urged to attend to such matters as a result of such an outcry. One other important issue is that hopefully the audience at home, as a result of such representation, will consciously pick out and digest the positives from *Yizo Yizo* (1999) and reject behaviours which condone violence, bullying, rape, crime and so forth.

Isidingo (1998) and *Inumber number (2013)* also play around the style, tendency and culture of associating black images with negativity. Flaaitaal characters like Papa G are represented as those who are social misfits, societal-ills, public enemies and those who ruin everything they come across. From such representation there are quite a few positives to be extracted, such as that of how blacks are depicted as those who can be economically well-off and compete with the so called whites, have some sort of power and authority. Regardless of the line of business and the way flaaitaal speaking characters accumulate their wealth, such images of black lives are socially uplifting as it portrays successful and empowered black lives and also powerful black business moguls. Thus, such portrayal of the possibility of blacks being capable and able to make it anywhere in life brings about some social uplift within the black audience. Thus, the black audience is fed that positivity towards life and is encouraged to construct a belief that one day they can or are going to make it as black lives. The overall positive aspect to such representation of flaaitaal and iscamtho speaking characters in all of the above analysed film, drama and soapy, is that crime and criminal behaviour has very sad and harsh consequences and in most cases does not pay.

Future work that still needs to be done and issues attended to within the South African film industry is of the ownership within the industry and equipping more non-whites with the skills and knowledge regarding film production. The dominance of whites within the South African film industry takes black

people back to the days where whites had control of the media and how non-whites were excluded to fully own or take part in the industry. It could be as a result of such factor of white dominance within the media that we have black images that are constantly represented negatively, from film, soapy, drama, reality show and so forth, and the black men image in South African television has become a joke. South African film industry needs to be heavily politicised; a move from the black government to take over and nationalized the South African film industry, and launder it from top to bottom such as is the case of Cuba. The Cuban film industry is state run, although this is an undemocratic move, but it seems it is a necessity if respect and bestowal of dignity of black images on screen is to be achieved.

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